COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"The disparity is so striking and extraordinary, both in the navy and commerce of the two countries, that it must be attended with the effects which I wish to point out. It has, indeed, been said, and I doubt not the fact, that France will use all her means for reuniting her navy. But, whatever her efforts may be, there are two points in the arduous contest that are well worthy of our consideration. The first is, the number of years she must be employed in building ships to make her naval establishment equal even to what it was; and the second is, the number of ships necessary to be built, in order to enable her to enter into a competition with this country. All those, who examine this subject thoroughly, will have no objection to give to France a great many years, and afterwards to take the chance of a war with her. France will, no doubt, make great exertions during peace; but, if a war should take place in the course of eight or ten years, I am confident, that, whenever it does take place, we shall be enabled to renew it with more advantage than we began the late war."——LORD HAWKESBURY's Speech, 3d Nov. 1801.

FALL OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

(Concluded from p. 241.)

Of the six ministers who had been chosen after the 10th of August, three were of the Gironde party, and who had been dismissed by the King, before he refused his assent to the two decrees; of the others, Danton, who from his violent principles, and bold and turbulent disposition, had in the first stages of the revolution been excluded from all the constituted authorities; but, from the progress of the revolution, had not only been admitted into them, but from his influence in the sections had great weight, was chosen one, and one to which it might have been supposed he was least adapted, the minister of *justice*. It was, probably, at his instance, to get rid of the confederated national guards of the departments, who were a check upon the city of Paris, that the ministers or executive council, requested them to proceed to the frontiers against the common enemy. The Girondes had understood the real intentions of that request; for, a few days after, they obtained a decree of the assembly to dissolve that common council, and to order a new one to be chosen. The citizens, however, were not so easily defeated; the common council met, and ordered every man either to march to the frontiers, or to resign his arms to one who would; and, on this resolution being laid before the assembly by Danton, they still felt their situation on the 10th of August so sensibly, that they confirmed it on pain of death. Thus the Parisian national guards, who appeared doubtful on the 10th of August, and on whom the leaders of the sections could not depend, were disarmed, which opened the door to the massacres of the 2d of September; and, in fact, put an end to the importance of the national guards; for they never were afterwards perfectly re-established, nor did any man of property continue in them. The confederates from the other departments were not so complying; they resolved to stay in Paris to restore order, instead of marching to the frontiers. A large detachment came from Marsailles to join them, who were, at first, well received by some of the citizens; but they had not been long arrived, before the city of Paris declared against them, and to compel them to remove, allowed them to want every necessary in their barracks. They, however, were not to be driven from their purpose; upon which the Parisians, not chusing to attack such sturdy antagonists by force, entered into a new confederation with them, which, it was soon seen, was a device such as they had practised at the beginning of the revolution; they insinuated themselves among them, and debauched them individually, which threatened their dissolution so completely, that two battalions of those from Marseilles marched home, even when refused rations upon their march: the citizens succeeded so perfectly by this means in sapping the power of the confederates, that they never after were formidable, or had any great influence.——As the convention was to exhibit the singular phenomenon of a great people, unbiassed by prejudice, and unawed by authority, constructing a government, which was to be a model for other nations, and for future ages; the greatest latitude was allowed both in respect to the electors and the elected. To the former there were few exceptions; of the latter a part had been members of the constituent assembly; but, of those who had been either very little, or not at all known, many had been members of the last assembly, a small number were foreigners; and, of the rest, many were from still humbler, and less respectable situations in life, than even the members of the legislative assembly. One of the first acts of the convention was to abolish royalty in France. This, however, did not satisfy the populace, they were bent upon having the King brought to trial, to acquire popularity, the leaders of the differ-

ent parties in the convention endeavoured to surpass each other in pushing on his executions. If on him they could have extirpated the house of Bourbon, and extinguished all claims to the crown, they would have had at least the plea of expediency to urge in their favour; but, as there was a numerous succession of claimants to the throne, it was a wanton act of barbarity. There is every reason to think, that a great majority of the convention wished to save him; for, notwithstanding the populace made use of every means of intimidating the members, he was sacrificed by but a very small majority.——The 10th of August was no sooner effected, than the party of the Gironde, who had been very active in preventing it, like all their predecessors when they thought they had acquired the superiority, began to declaim against anarchy and the disorders in the nation, and insist upon enforcing obedience to the laws; like them, too, they drew upon themselves the same consequences; they immediately became obnoxious to the city of Paris, and the minister of the interior, whose office led him to oppose, or rather harangue against, the popular commotions, for he could not repress them, soon found his situation so disagreeable and dangerous, that he resigned. No serious attempt, however, was made to crush the Brissotine faction in the convention, till after the departure of the Marseilles confederates: a discussion respecting a pillaging mob, then brought on a debate in the convention, on dismissing or retaining the confederates of the western departments, who were still at Paris. The style of debate, and temper of discussion, which they had to encounter about this time, may be gathered from a decree of the convention; that if any member shall hereafter call any of his colleagues, incendiary, assassin, villain, rascal, &c, he shall be immediately expelled; their members were at the same time so violently hooted by the galleries, that one of them justly observed, that if such things were permitted the convention was no better than a machine in the hands of a faction, for passing decrees; a decree, however, was passed, ordering the confederates home, which part of them obeyed. A few days after a considerable movement took place in the city, and a deputation demanded of the convention the arrest of several persons. Not long after another deputation from a majority of the sections led by the mayor, demanded the arrest of the principal members of the Gironde; instead of complying, they passed a decree of accusation against Marat, who was an active agent in stirring up the people against them; he was unanimously acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, and marched back to the convention in triumph. That famous tribunal had been instituted not long before. A court had been appointed after the 10th of August, for trying all state crimes; but, it did not satisfy the impatience of the people for blood: very soon after the departure of the confederates, Danton, who had resigned his office as minister, on being chosen a member of the convention, under the colour of instructing the citizens respecting their march to the frontiers, procured a decree of the convention to send commissioners to each of the sections of Paris; instead of any thing relating to the armies of the frontiers, the commissioners brought back a demand for erecting that bloody tribunal. Another deputation from the popular sections soon followed, who made use of the harsh language to the same party, the members of it were reviled by the galleries, deputies from some of the sections, who had declared in their favour, were assaulted and wounded; a deputation from the citizens of Versailles was announced, and the convention broke up their meeting in terror. Other deputations and other insults followed, which were only a prelude to the 31st of May, when the city of Paris in a state of insurrection, persisted for three days in demanding the arrest of the leading members of that party. The convention made a longer resistance than the former assembly, but, at last agreed that those members should remain under arrest in their own houses, which was, in fact, signing their proscription.——By the 31st of May, the French revolution was carried to its height: the distractions of the nation had increased under the legislative assembly; after the execution of the King, a considerable part of the western provinces had revolted; after the 31st of May, a great part of the southern provinces followed their example, from the influence of the confederation with which the Gironde party had acted. The events of that day were achieved chiefly by the lowest of the populace; by the subjugation of the convention, they actually commanded what government there was in the state, and set free themselves from all control; they for some months met in tumultuous assemblies, and sported with all political and religious institutions and opinions, that have been revered by mankind. It was during this time that the new calendar, with the festivals and ceremonies relating to it, were decreed: that profane processions appeared in the convention, of which they not only were passive spectators, but shewed some marks of ap-

probation; and, that atheism was openly professed. But, while the people were indulging themselves in all the caprices of the wildest licentiousness, a power was silently forming, that not long after subjected both them and the rest of France to one of the most severe and unrelenting tyrannies that has ever existed. Popular commotions are terrible in their explosions, but transient in their exertions; after their labours the people often fall into a sleep, from which they are long in awaking; and sometimes into a lethargy, from which they never recover. For a short time after the 31st of May, the sections of Paris did dictate to the convention, and to such executive power as there was in the state. It appears probable, that Danton, who acted a principal part in conducting them to their present elevation, had formed the design of establishing some solid and lasting power through their means; for, not long after, he moved in the convention, that the whole authority of the state, by the name of a provisional government, should be vested in the committee of public safety: it was referred by the convention to that committee itself, whose report, to the astonishment of, I believe, all the by-standers, gave a negative; but, the members of which, judged more correctly, for it was not supported by the sections. As their authority over the convention was still great, it is not improbable, that they had perceived the drift of that motion; for about this time Danton's popularity received a shock, which he never after recovered in spite of all his endeavours to regain it. Some time after, the city, in consequence of a scarcity of provisions principally occasioned by the absurd law of the maximum, demanded of the convention that a revolutionary army should be formed, which should travel with a guillotine in its train, to compel the rich to support the poor: the convention did not dare to refuse it. Notwithstanding the convention submitted so often to the sections, the committee of public safety, and the party connected with them, rapidly extended their power. On the motion of Danton forty sols a day, had been granted to the poor citizens, while attending the meetings of the sections; but, the convention tacked to the decree a clause, restricting their meetings to once in a week; some of them presented a petition against that clause, but it was rejected, and not long after it was decreed, that their meetings should be reduced to once in ten days.——The convention had been called to form a constitution; the first constitution had employed the constituent assembly more than two years, the convention dispatches them in little more than as many months. Whether any of the great parties ever intended that it should be put in practice is to be doubted; for, no sooner had some of the members suggested, that the object of their meeting was fulfilled, and that they should dissolve themselves as the constituent assembly had done, than addresses were procured requesting them to continue at their post, which they so readily complied with, that they resolved not to abandon it, till the dangers of the revolution were past. Not long after the revolutionary government was decreed, on the motion of the prevailing faction. It was, in fact, the same as that moved for by Danton, but the power fell into other hands. So much had the face of affairs changed in so short a time, that an arrêt of the council of Paris, declaring themselves the center of the existing revolutionary committees, was then annulled, and the constituted authorities ordered, under severe penalties, not to assemble them.——Among the importations of the Anglomania into France, was that of clubs. Clubs are a plant of English growth: notwithstanding the factitious manners of the present times, the national character operates so strongly, that they still tend to diffuse the unconstrained ease of social intercourse; and, in those of a political nature, to soften the asperity of party; but, in France, where the habits, the manners, and the taste were formed for living in a crowd, they were merely debating societies, and only heightened the virulence of faction. There were several clubs in France before any of the dissentions that led to the revolution began; they then gave umbrage to the government, and were ordered to be suppressed. Among the various clubs produced by the revolution, was that of the friends of the constitution, better known by the name of the Jacobins. That club was at first a meeting of some of the members of the *tiers état* of Brittany, where the disputes between the noblesse and them, had been more marked than in any of the other provinces. I believe, the principle by which they were distinguished at first, was, that they decided upon every question as it occurred, upon its own merits alone, without fettering themselves by any forms, or considering it as part of any predetermined system. Another club, which did not give so great latitude to their opinions upon every occasion, or, who were, in short, more attached to some general principles of government, at first opposed them, and for a short time had great weight in the constituent assembly; but, the tenets of the Jacobins were so congenial with the principles and progress

of the revolution, that they soon acquired a great ascendant in the assembly. Many persons, who were not members of the assembly, were admitted into the society: though the original members had been inclined, to what were at that time the most popular opinions, they were soon outstripped in that particular by the foreign members, if that expression may be used; and, not long after their institution, the members of the assembly made a secession, with an intention of again constituting themselves the club on its original footing; but, it was then too late, the foreign members were so great a body, and so far retained the weight of the society, that the original members thought it prudent to return to them. From that time most of the questions that came before the assembly were discussed there, and in a few months their influence over it was so great, that petitions and applications were made to them respecting legislative, and sometimes executive affairs. Societies on the same principles were formed in almost every part of the country, with which that in Paris corresponded, and the opinions and resolutions of the parent, had considerable weight with the affiliations. The Jacobins, however, far from directing, had hitherto had very little share in any of the great movements that were æras in the French revolution: they were not connected with any efficient force, that could give effect to their resolutions. They detested the confederates. Though some of the principal movers of the populace or sections of Paris, were members of the society, as a body they had very little if any influence over them. As they both had the same object in view, to level all distinctions and all authority but their own, they generally acted in concert, but they were sometimes at variance. The 6th of October was passed before the jacobins were known; the 10th of August was so little their work, that all the members who had taken an active part in it, except those who were at the head of the sections of Paris, were immediately after proscribed by themselves; and, the 31st of May was planned, not among the Jacobins, but in the electoral assembly of Paris. What share they had in forming the public opinions is difficult to say; but, that they did not direct, it is evident. When Barnave, Lameth, &c. thought that the road to distinction was by courting the populace, and took the direction of the club from Chapelier and the other founders of the society, they outran the public opinion, and the Jacobins were obliged to assume the character of friends of order and government, to recover their influence; the same happened after the 28th of February, when they declared in favour of the sections of Paris; they were then obliged to do a longer penance of the same sort. Like every other part of the nation, they were themselves subjected to every great change in the state: there were several secessions from them: by a scrutiny after the 10th of August, the Girondists with many other persons were expelled; by another, after the revolutionary government was decreed, they expelled many of the most popular members belonging to the city of Paris. After the members of the constituent assembly, and those connected with them, had either seceded or were expelled, the jacobins might be defined, a body of political adventurers who hampered every department of government which they did not direct, and who would engage in any political enterprise from which they could derive power or advantage. In addition to those who were members of that club, there was at Paris a vast collection, not only of natives, but of foreigners of desperate fortunes, who were ready for any undertaking, and who became the instruments of the revolutionary government. Before that government was declared, the convention for the ostensible purpose of quelling revolts, and enforcing the requisitions of men and provisions, sent commissioners of their own members into many parts of the country, who assumed an unlimited power, changing the constituted authorities, and arresting whomsoever they pleased; after that government was established, they exercised the same power every where. So sudden and so great are the changes that depend upon popular opinion, that if it had not passed almost before our eyes, it would hardly have been credible, that from the extreme of licentiousness, a nation should in a few months, bow their necks to a tyranny so despotic and so sanguinary, as rarely to have had an equal. Without the compulsion of any great armed force, they allowed themselves to be seized and dragged to execution by thousands, not only upon slight pretences, and upon an unfair trial, but upon the mandate of a commissioner, which but a short time before they had treated with contempt. This tyranny did not bear only upon the partisans of the old government, the leaders of the different revolutionary parties that preceded it, or even the founders of the Jacobin club who almost all perished under it; but, at last extended likewise to the populace themselves, who had overthrown the throne, the noblesse, and the clergy. I think it will not fill the reign of Caligula, for I speak

from memory, that the despotism of Rome began to set upon the populace; so rapid was the progress of a tyranny erected upon anarchy, compared to that of despotism, that in less than five years it arrived at the same point, which the other had required near three centuries to attain. The revolutionary government disbanded the revolutionary army attached to the sections of Paris, brought some of their leaders who had been most active in the late licentiousness to the block, as well as many of the members of the convention who had given them offence. Even Danton when he ventured to object to the restrictions imposed on the clubs, sections, and popular societies, found himself in circumstances so hazardous, that he lost his manhood, and made the most humiliating concessions. The tyranny of a popular faction is the most intolerable of all tyrannies, because its persecution extends to every situation and every rank in life; the village, nay, the country, has its petty tyrant, who is not only intolerant in his public opinions, but makes use of his power to gratify his private malice; even the city afforded no asylum, for the inmost recesses were haunted by reptiles of informers, or invaded by arbitrary domiciliary searches. Revolutionary committees were formed in the towns, and pervaded the country, who lodged informations against every person who was obnoxious to them: they found no difficulty in getting their malice satiated by the revolutionary tribunal, or by arbitrary executions. Their indiscriminate massacres are unexampled since the civilization of modern Europe; so regardless were they of human life, as hardly to be conceived: in their numerous executions by the musket, and sometimes by canon, some of their own officers or attendants have been found among the dead, from neglecting to give them proper notice to retire; when there has been a form of trial, a different person whose name bore some resemblance, has been condemned and executed for another, although to the former the facts and evidence could have no relation. So dreadful was this tyranny, that the horrors of it could not pierce through the gloom. The massacres of Nantes and the Loire were not known at Paris, till after the 9th of Thermidor, and were then discovered in some measure by accident. The revolutionary committee of Nantes had sent more than an hundred persons, whom they had arrested, towards Paris, with instructions to the guard to put them to death by the way; the 9th of Thermidor intervened, and part of them who had not perished by the treatment that they had experienced on their march, arrived safe; when they were examined, they gave information, which it is asserted, ascertained that Carrier during his mission in that quarter, had put to death thirty thousand persons, in the most wanton and barbarous manner. A member of the convention who returned some time after the 9th Thermidor, from a mission to the southern provinces, averred, that a commune of 500 houses had been burnt, because a tree of liberty had been cut down in the night, and the inhabitants could not discover the authors; that he himself ordered a trench to be filled up in which were 500 dead bodies; and, that he likewise ordered six more to be filled up, which were intended to hold 12,000 victims. Many other instances, that were likewise before unknown, though not of equal magnitude, yet of equal audacity, were afterwards brought to light. After the force of the revolutionary government was spent, and it ceased to be an object of terror, the people of the southern provinces rose, and took a severe revenge. The convention was subjected to the same despotic sway: the powers of the committee of public safety were repeatedly continued, without a murmur being uttered, and at last prolonged indefinitely. After the scrutiny of the jacobins had purified them from every thing that was not attached to the ruling faction, their club became the real place of discussion of public affairs, and often the organ of their execution. The reign of terror has been generally denominated the reign of Robespierre, but for what reason I know not, except that he was the only member of it who had ever enjoyed any great degree of popularity. Respecting those dark times every thing ought to be received with caution, unless confirmed by authentic documents: several traits of individuals, who have been too well known in those scenes, that were supposed to be derived from the best sources, have been found to be without foundation. The piece of villainy that was published of Lebon the assassin of Arras as notorious, that he compelled the wife to submit to his desires to save her husband, whom he immediately after shewed her bleeding on the scaffold, was on examination proved to be fabricated: many circumstances that were propagated with equal certainty respecting Robespierre, are now known to be false. The character of Robespierre was totally unfit for conducting affairs that required firmness and decision: he was devoid of courage, and, far from acting a commanding part in critical situations, he either failed to appear, or if he did appear, always seemed to be feeling round for the

strongest party, that he might either join, or at least not give it offence. Barrère, and his testimony is strongly corroborated by Robespierre not being absent at that time, declared, that so far from being the author of the revolutionary government, he opposed it; but, that when it was adopted, he filled as many of the departments with his creatures as he could. That he was a man of blood, who shed it without hesitation, when that could promote his views, there can be no doubt; but, he on many occasions made attempts, I mean such feeble attempts as were suitable to his character, to stop the wanton effusion of it. He hinted at saving the Princess Elizabeth; when the revolutionary axe began to fall on the populace, he suggested that it was necessary to lop off only the highest heads. After he was executed, the remaining members made use of the apothegm of Barrère, that dead men tell no tales, and threw all the obloquy of the bloodshed upon him; but, I know of no reason to think, that it was the tyranny either of him or any other individual, but of a gang of hardened and unprincipled adventurers, who dealt destruction both individually and collectively, on every thing that gave them umbrage.——The club of the Cordeliers was but little known, till after the execution of the King; composed chiefly of the leaders of the sections of Paris, it then rose into consequence. Had the revolutionary government been carried into effect, when it was first proposed by Danton, it is probable, from the murders in the beginning of the revolution, the massacres of September, and from the revolutionary tribunal being created at their instance, that the sections would not have been more merciful than the Jacobins, into whose hands it fell. Resenting, however, the success of the latter, and feeling the pressure of their power, a plot was some months after formed for overturning, or more properly, taking it out of their hands. The Jacobins were alarmed, and sent a deputation to the Cordeliers, offering them the fraternal embrace, and to become thereafter friends and brethren; the Cordeliers were the dupes of these professions; it was the kiss of Judas; the ferment was no sooner allayed, than the most noisy members of the Cordeliers were arrested; the sections taken by surprise, far from attempting to relieve them by force, sunk under the terror of the revolutionary tribunal; even Danton and the rest of the leaders declared against those that had been arrested, who were immediately tried and executed: they were no sooner disposed of than those of greater consequence, and Danton himself shared the same fate. Thus far the principal members of the revolutionary government appear to have acted in concert, but, having then overcome all opposition, a contest for power arose among themselves. The possession of the revolutionary government was contested by Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just on one part, and by Billaud, Collot, &c. on the other; for Barrère was merely a weather-cock to point out the strongest side. While the popular leaders of Paris were in existence, Robespierre and his party were at variance with the constituted authorities of the city, but after they had fallen on the scaffold, he insinuated himself into the confidence of the common council, he had a majority of the jacobin club in his favour, he had likewise secured the revolutionary tribunal, and the commander of the armed force of Paris, whose obedience that commander thought he could answer for; but, they were far from being popular among the sections, because they had been active in cutting off the principal members of the Cordeliers; the latter party were at the head of the other departments of the government. The convention had been so long a passive instrument in their hands, that no important business was there agitated, unless brought forward by members or connexions of the committee of public safety; but an incident occurred which alarmed the members for their own safety, and induced them to take a decided part. The committee of public safety had procured a decree, by which they were empowered to arrest all suspected persons, and bring them before the revolutionary tribunal; but, either from an exception in the law, or from practice, they had only arrested the members of the convention whom they chose to include in the number of the suspicious, but had not brought them to trial without a decree of accusation from the convention. In the beginning of June a decree was passed, granting them the same powers, in which no mention was made of the members of the convention. That decree appears to have had the approbation of both those parties; and, probably, was intended by both to be made use of against their antagonists, when they found it practicable. Though the members of the convention did not chuse to dispute with them the lives of the rest of the nation, they had some regard for their own. Next day, when several zealous revolutionists required that the members of the convention should be expressly exempted from being brought to trial, without a decree of accusation; a decree to that effect was passed. Robespierre by hints in the in-

decisive manner peculiar to himself, shewed that he wished to be supported in designs against these members, but meeting with no encouragement, that only formed a determined party against him in the convention. Billaud acknowledged afterwards, that he and his friends had watched for some time for a favourable opportunity of attacking him; and, it is probable, that the friends of Danton had not been idle among the sections; for, on the anniversary of the revolution, they held public feasts and meetings, which they had not dared to do for some time before; nor did Robespierre's harangues receive that applause from the galleries, which had always before followed them. He was so little sensible of a change in the public opinion, and of the approaching consequences of it, that to recover his popularity, he declaimed vehemently upon increasing the activity of the revolutionary government. A speech of his on this subject in the convention, was evidently intended to prepare them for exerting it against his antagonists. It was moved, that instead of being printed and distributed as usual for the speeches that were highly approved, it should be referred to the committees for their report; the motion met with support, and discovered that his enemies had increased both in numbers and boldness; it was, however, negatived, and the speech ordered to be printed. In the evening he made a motion in the Jacobin club for a new scrutiny, which his opponents both in the convention and the committee, knew was intended as a proscription. St. Just began a report next day, preparatory to an accusation against them; he was immediately interrupted by the members who thought themselves most in danger. Billaud, Collot, and their party, made such a tumult that Robespierre could not be heard; and, at last, carried a decree of arrest against him: so satisfied was he of his own strength, that when he found he should not be permitted to speak, he insulted the president and the convention. Instead of carrying him to confinement, the officer who had him in custody led him to the common council, who were assembled to support his cause, and so equally were the parties matched that day, that several persons were arrested, delivered, and arrested others; that night the affair was brought to an issue; the convention passed many decrees of arrest and attainder, but their decrees would have been of little avail, if some of the members who had influence in the sections, had not hastened to arm them, and immediately proceeded to the common council, before the force that they had ordered was collected. There are accounts, and I believe them to be well founded, which say, that if Robespierre had been possessed of that active and daring disposition, which was necessary for the part he had undertaken, and, instead of loitering among the common council, had, as soon as the proceedings were arranged, gone to assist in raising the armed force, he would have anticipated his antagonists, and secured success before they could have been prepared. If such had been the issue of the 9th Thermidor, the fate of the two parties would probably have been exchanged, his opponents would have died by the hand of the executioner, and he would have visited the Banks of the Sinamary.——After the death of Robespierre, the remaining members of the committee seemed to flatter themselves, that the same powers would be continued to them, and there was no appearance that they would have been used more mildly than before; for, in the first two days about an hundred of the municipal officers of the city of Paris were guillotined. But, however much the revolutionary government might be detested, the energy of it was such that it did not fall at once, as the old government had done at the revolution. The first step towards it was, although indirectly opposed by the remaining members, to fill up the vacancies in the committee of public safety, and at the same time, to provide that a fourth part of the members should be renewed every month. About ten days after, it was moved to continue the revolutionary government, by which was understood, though not expressed, the system of terror; in the debate none of the members declared against it, but the motion was not carried, nor were different plans proposed for new modelling it, referred to the committee of public safety, but to a deputation of all their committees united. These circumstances were so little favourable to that system, that its adherents thought it necessary to make an effort to restore it. A decree had been passed enabling the committees to release all the patriots who had been imprisoned; in consequence of which, some hundreds out of seven or eight thousand prisoners in Paris, had been liberated; a motion was made that they should be again arrested; the impression that it had left was still so strong, that the motion was not negatived but evaded; and some members having joined in preferring an accusation against Billaud, Collot, and five more of the principal actors in that system, it was rejected by a great majority; they however, finding upon the next change that their influence was at an end, resigned their seats in the committee of public safety.——While

some of the members of the convention went on the 9th Thermidor, to raise the sections, Legendre, the friend of Danton, chose, so much were the galleries changed, a few men from the galleries, marched with them to the Jacobins, dispersed their meetings, and brought the keys of their hall to the convention. They never recovered their former consequence; however, in a few days they again opened their club, and it became as before the center of the system of terror. While they retained their influence in the convention, and that system was only a little mitigated, they were not intemperate in their conduct; but, when they found that both it and their power were upon the decline, their violence increased. Not recollecting, or not perceiving that their success, previous to the revolutionary government, had been owing to their acting in concert with the sections of Paris, they avowed their intention of reviving the reign of terror at all hazards, and threatened both them and the convention. On the first relaxation of that system, some of the sections of Paris began to be again in motion; but, when the Jacobins threatened to renew it, they joined the convention against them: the wounding of Tallien, and the discovery of the atrocities of Carrier, happening about this time, the name of Jacobin became as much an object of hatred, and their persons of insult, as they had ever been of terror. The convention ordered a scrutiny of the society, in which they prevailed so far as to expel the most violent of the members. When Carrier was brought to trial, being determined to save him if possible, they threatened to excite an insurrection, upon which the club was shut up; their correspondence with most of their affiliated societies was cut off, and after a long perseverance a decree of accusation was at last carried against the principal existing members of the old committee of public safety.——During the time that the proceedings against Billaud, Collot, &c., had been in agitation, a member made a motion that a committee should be appointed to arrange the manner in which the constitution of 1793 should be carried into effect. That constitution being the production of those who were running a race for popularity, few were excluded from the right of voting, the elections were vested in the people without intermediate electors, and the primary assemblies were not only thus to become the immediate electors, but they were in many cases, and might be in all deliberative assemblies, whereas there was no efficient government [illegible] made them so many petty [illegible] legislative councils.

The revolution had still continued to follow the new course that it had taken; the arbitrary mode of proceeding of the revolutionary tribunal, had been much restricted; some of the principal actors in the system of terror, had been condemned and executed; others were ordered for trial; seventy members of the convention who had protested against the 31st of May, and had been a year under arrest, were first released, and afterwards allowed to take their seats; even those who had been attainted, soon after recovered the same privilege; and, in a short time, one of them who had fled to the royalists in La Vendée was admitted. Such a motion or such a constitution, by no means accorded with the spirit that dictated those measures; nor did the convention, now it had acquired some authority, seem willing to resign it; though often mentioned in the convention that it was time to put an end to the revolutionary government, it had been still maintained, but with various modifications. That constitution, however, was so agreeable to the popular sections of Paris, that they immediately began to move in support of it; and, the remaining Jacobins, resumed the part that they had acted before the 10th of August, and fomented the popular commotions. That there was not a real scarcity was proved by the committee of subsistence, who declared that one-third more flour was at that time issued, than had been consumed in Paris before the revolution, and the great emigrations that followed; but, there was a difficulty in procuring necessaries, from the immense quantity of paper money in circulation, and the little value that was set upon it: there was no great connexion between that and the constitution of 1793; however, a tumultuous meeting marched to the convention, demanded bread and that constitution, made a riot, and assaulted many persons before they were dispersed. They were supported in the convention by the jacobin members; the convention did not refuse their demands flatly, they appointed a committee to prepare the laws for organizing that constitution, and they named a day for fixing the time of the meeting of the primary assemblies; but, when that day came the order was discharged. A more considerable commotion then arose, the people again demanded bread, and the constitution of 1793: the next day, the 12th Germinal, it increased: the convention was surrounded by an armed mob, General Pichegru being then at Paris, was ordered to take the command of the force to oppose it; and, it was not till after insulting many, and wounding some of

the members, that it was at last suppressed. During the commotion the convention decided summarily the fate of the accused members of the old committee of public safety; a decree was passed, directing them to be transported to Guiana; their departure from Paris met with some opposition from the populace, but they were taken out of their hands, and sent forward to their destination. Barrère, however, escaped before their embarkation. Far from abandoning their purpose from the defeat they had experienced on those two days, the popular sections only increased their activity; about a week after they projected another insurrection, which was discovered and prevented; several other unsuccessful attempts were made. The convention had deprived the revolutionary government of its great force, by restoring the former administrations of the departments; but, to give activity to the general administration, they again concentrated the principal functions of government in their committee of public safety; this leaving no expectation of seeing the constitution of 1793 carried into effect, a very formidable insurrection took place on the 1st Prairial. The convention that day exhibited a singular spectacle; it was an epitome of the revolution, and a striking picture of an ochlocracy. The sections sounded the alarm early in the morning; they sent a deputation to the convention, demanding the meeting of the primary assemblies on an early day, and the arrest of their own members. A decree was hardly passed against them, before the galleries were filled by a mob, who reviled and insulted the convention, it was with great difficulty that they were cleared; soon after the insurgents forced their way in, and were repulsed in the hall itself; they made another attack, again forced their way in, drove off the guard of the convention, and killed one of the members. The Jacobins had continued silent, waiting the issue of the contest, thinking themselves then sure of victory; they rose, demanded the repeal of all the laws that militated against the system of terror, and the release of its adherents: the convention were too much under the impression of fear to oppose them; four of the jacobin members were chosen as a new committee of public safety; they were leaving the hall to take possession of the government, when they were met by a large body of the other citizens, and persons of various descriptions, armed in support of the convention, who attacked the insurgents, dispersed them, arrested the intended committee, by a decree of the convention, they were tried by a military commission and executed. It was several days before the insurrection was intirely suppressed, and in some of the sections it was more by persuasion than by force, that it was at last extinguished. Notwithstanding all the humiliations and depression that the jacobins had suffered, it was probably through their means that corresponding insurrections were excited in many parts of the country, both on the 12th Germinal and 1st Prairial. The popular sections although again defeated, did not yet give up the point; they begun a scrutiny among themselves, with an intention of disarming all those whom they did not think true to their cause; but the convention opposed it, and the popular rage being spent, they submitted.——The insurrections of the 12th Germinal and the 1st Prairial, determined the convention to put an end to the revolutionary government. The committee they had appointed was declared to be for the purpose of digesting the preparatory laws of the constitution of 1793, but it produced the directorial constitution. It was in the course of discussing the latter, that a question was first asked, which might have been put with equal propriety, every day, except during the reign of terror, since the 15th of July, 1789, where was government. Untaught by six years continual convulsions, they still spoke with ineffable contempt of the sources of government, the principles of civil society, and of the longest period to which they had hitherto protracted the existence of nations; instead of considering a free government as a majestic oak, that requires ages to extend its roots, but which, can then, while uncorrupted, bid defiance to the tempests of heaven, that is invigorated by the collisions of party, and cuts off the sources of faction, but which must be subject to decay, and at last must yield to the efforts of time: they still regarded it as a parasitical plant that could be raised up in a season, and that when they decreed the form, they created the substance; they still fancied that they possessed the political philosopher's stone, by which they could animate it by their fiat; that they could banish the contentions of interest, and enable it to resist the approaches of age: nor was this the language, nor these the opinions of the speculative, but of the practical legislators of that day; for the Abbé Sieyes, whose influence on the revolution, notwithstanding all that has been said of it, I know not where to find, produced, in opposition to that constitution, one of his own, which, in many parts, was the same as the one since adopted; it was thrown aside, and his illus-

tration of it openly ridiculed as metaphysical jargon.——After the victory of the 1st Prairial over the popular sections and the Jacobins, many of the citizens of Paris shewed their aversion to the latter. Among other circumstances, they would not permit the performance of the popular airs of the middle period of the revolution at the places of public amusement; this occasioned some playhouse riots, which were converted by the Jacobin members of the convention into a royalist conspiracy; so great was still their antipathy to royalty, that they immediately ordered the arrest of a great number of the young men who had been concerned in them; and, so much were they alarmed, that upon the Jacobins saying that it was folly to send the rioters to be tried by a jury, who must likewise be royalists, and would certainly acquit them, the convention remitted their case to a committee of their own members. The sections to which they belonged strenuously supported their cause, and made use of very strong language to the convention, accusing them by such arbitrary proceedings, of reviving the system of terror. After the directorial constitution was discussed, the convention declared that it was not safe to trust the people with renewing the whole legislature at once, least they should return one composed, either of royalists, or of the adherents of the system of terror; they therefore, decreed, that two-thirds of the members of the convention should be re-elected or continued. The committee of constitution had proposed, that the elections should be made by the primary assemblies, as in the constitution of 1793; but the convention in revising it, decreed that there should be electoral assemblies, as in the first periods of the revolution; for an efficient government, electoral assemblies would probably be fatal both to its energy and freedom, by interrupting the immediate action of the people, in the state that France then was, they could only add intrigue to anarchy, but they were certainly less unfit for deliberation, than indiscriminate meetings of the people: the convention reversed it, they deprived the people of the elections, and they submitted to them the consideration of the constitution. When the convention recovered from their panic, they had released the rioters, but the animosity that the proceedings against them had excited in the sections, had not ceased when the constitution and the decrees for the re-election of the two-thirds came before them. The constitution was approved by a great majority, but the decrees condemned by a still greater number, and many of the sections resolved to oppose them, as depriving them of the right of choosing their own representatives. After the 1st Prairial, the convention thought it prudent to collect a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Paris: after the riots, under the cover of marching troops to La Vendée, they made a considerable addition to them: the sections sent to fraternise with them, which threatened to produce some defections; dreading the consequences, it is said, that the convention ordered picked men from the armies, to march in small bodies to Paris; and, with more regard to their own safety, than to the principles of civil liberty, they sent the constitution very expeditiously to the armies for their approbation. The agitation became great in many of the sections, they gave frequent alarms, and were several times on the point of breaking out into open insurrection, but it did not actually take place till upon the eve of the elections, when they rose and attacked the convention; some individuals of the military joined them, but the great body of the troops remained faithful to the convention, killed a considerable number of the insurgents, and easily defeated them. The popular sections had been overcome on the 12th Germinal and 1st Prairial, the other party of them on the 13th Vendémiaire. The weighty influence of the city of Paris on the revolution, had begun to decline soon after the 31st of May, but it was not till the 13th Vendémiaire, that it was decidedly reduced, and with the revolutionary government finally merged in the directorial constitution.——Never perhaps, was the power of public opinion, shown in so strong a light as in the French revolution. It proceeded in a continued progression till it attained its height, or till the utmost dissolution of government; then like a projectile arrived at its greatest elevation, it declined into a different direction, which it pursued with the same irresistible force. While it advanced, the court, the constituent, and legislative assemblies, the convention, clubs or individuals, who attempted to retard its progress, were either forgotten, compelled to follow it, or were annihilated; whoever outran it, sections, Jacobins, legislatures or confederates, were obliged to return and re-enter its atmosphere; the same opinions which they had been obliged to recant, were in a few months received with applause, and they again soon became obsolete. When it entered on its new course, the jacobins and the revolutionary government tyrannised over the whole nation; the jacobins were subjected in their turn, the revolutionary government was abrogated, and the conven-

tion, few active members of which had not at some period or other been the objects of contempt and abuse, triumphed over those by whom they had been commanded and despised. Its influence extended with equal force to the armies; the generals who attempted to resist it, were either forced to fly or dragged from their victories to the scaffold: while it advanced, no armed force that came to Paris to oppose it, but was drawn into its vortex; when it began to recede, they acted against the same principles, and part of the same men to whom they had formerly deferred. Surprise may abate, when it is considered, that in the first elections for the constituent assembly, when the fermentation in the city of Paris was to appearance extreme, it is said, that of between seventy and one hundred thousand voters, not three thousand ever gave their votes; and, that at no period of the revolution, even when assisted by terror, did ever more than five thousand appear at any of the elections there. Of these an infinite majority must have been merely followers and retainers; in the most turbulent of their convulsions, it was a constant complaint that of the constituted authorities, which consisted of no great number of members, but a very small proportion ever attended. Allowing this, as I believe it to be, just, surprise can only give place to astonishment, that so insignificant a number of active and enterprising individuals, could excite so violent movements in so immense a machine.——In turbulent times those who are seen in high stations, are generally men of superior minds, who break through the bars of adventitious destructions, burst from obscurity, govern circumstances, and place themselves at the head of affairs; not so in the French revolution; the Mouniers, the Clermont Tonneres, the Chapeliers, the Barnaves, the Lamettes, the Berthiers, the Brissots, the Dantons, the Billauds, the Robespierres, the Talliens, the Boissy's, rarely if ever directed the stream, they floated on its surface; though most of them appeared with the first of the revolution, they were unheeded and unknown until they retailed the prevailing opinions of the day; they were dangled their scene upon the stage by an invisible agent, who then consigned them to their original obscurity, from which few of them ever again emerged. Mirabeau was no exception, for early as he died in the revolution, he had already outlived his political influence.—The imagination of man has converted the pastoral life; a life rude, tedious, and full of hardships, into a life of ease, pleasure, and refinement; it has likewise figured to itself, that what innocence and simplicity is to be found upon earth, is to be found in the humbler paths of life. By whom were the assassinations and devastations of France perpetrated in the first stages of the revolution; was it by the noblesse and the dignified clergy? It was by the peasants of the country, and the populace of the towns. By whom were the massacres and atrocities of the after periods committed? Was it by the Montmorencies, the Talleyrands, and the Rochfoucaulds who took a part in the revolutions? It was by the Dantons, the Brissots, the Collots, the Robespierres, the Billauds, the Carriers, the St. Justs; it was when what authority there was in the state came to be vested in the hands of the lowest retainers of the law, the meanest followers of literature, pastry-cooks, players, tavern keepers, and their offspring; the farther the revolution advanced, or, in other words, the lower the power descended in society, the more sanguinary, profligate, and ferocious it became. All the vices of the city, the court, and the palace, exist in the hamlet, the hovel, and the garret; they exist, and they exist in greater deformity, and in greater intensity too; the vices of the higher ranks, proceed oftener from imbecillity of character, than from depravity of heart. He never knew vice who has not known it unrestrained by a tender regard to character, unsoftened by a liberal education, and unfettered by the principles of honour more imperious than the laws of the state. For all classes of men the salutary control of government is necessary, but doubly so for those in whom the restraints imposed by manners are less powerful. In a revolution which professed to diffuse a degree of freedom, yet unknown among men, and to realise the happiest dreams of the imagination, we naturally look for a large share of that sacred fire that burns upon the altar of liberty, directed by a considerable "portion "of that etherial spirit which descends from "heaven to enlighten mankind;" we look for it, but we look for it in vain. Instead of perfecting a venerable fabric, which partook of the dark ages in which it was raised, and repairing the ravages of time; they with sacriligious hands tore down the pillars of the temple, yet expected that the edifice was to stand; when laid in ruins around them, they could devise nothing to substitute in its place but masses of unconnected materials, which fell to the ground before they were completed. The grandeur of the scene that opened before them, almost irresistibly impressed the higher virtues and elevation of mind, yet nothing is to be seen but the fury

of contending factions, the savage gazing with delight on the quivering members of his victim, or the Vandal exulting over the shivered monuments of ancient Rome.—— CAMILLUS.

TROOPS IN THE WEST INDIES.

SIR,——The situation of Europe being entirely changed, more numerous forces than heretofore must be employed in defence of the West Indies; and every means to preserve their health is always desirable.—— Great Britain daily increasing in wealth and refinement, may be compared to Rome in her declension, when her Italian subjects, dissolved in voluptuous ease, had utter repugnance to foreign service.——Many obvious causes tend to the destruction of troops in the West Indies; but, there are other causes, which perhaps are not so well understood.——It is notorious, that, in all situations, the health of troops more or less depends on the capacity and humanity of the commanding officer of the regiment. If he partly combines Roman discipline, with almost parental solicitude, he will highly contribute to the health and happiness of those under his orders; and, surely, the character of such officer is most enviable; for it is supreme felicity, to possess beneficence of heart, with the power of employing it for the happiness of many.——It is a melancholy truth, that too many officers detest the West India service; seem miserable until they quit it; and, perhaps, are not concerned at the reduction and drafting of the remains of their regiments into other corps. This too often takes place, in one or two years after the arrival of such regiments in the West Indies; and always insures the return of the officers to Europe. Such officers do not imagine themselves criminal; for they pretend to attribute this common catastrophe, altogether to the climate, which unhappily presents a very plausible apology for their inhuman inattention to their troops.——It is indeed, admitted, that too many officers perish in the West Indies by the climate, by INTEMPERANCE, and by that misery generated by their vehement desire to return to England. But, it is to be carefully remembered, that the number of officers so lost, are not nearly proportioned to the soldiers who perish there; for those brave unreflecting men, if unrestrained by wholesome discipline, rush with facility into daily intoxication, which speedily terminates in their destruction. Unfortunately, in this instance of national misfortune, the delinquent, instead of severe censure, receives a high premium, by the gratification of his most ardent desire to return to his country; whereas, the attentive and humane commandant, whose generous bosom glows with beneficence, virtue, and patriotism; who loves and regards his fellow soldiers as humble friends; who preserves them for their King, country, and families; is, perhaps, constrained to unusual length of service, in a climate which in seven or eight years saps or destroys his constitution.——If moral evil is not inherent, is not inseparable from human nature, such delinquents merit indignation, as warmly as the humane commander claims our esteem and affection. If civic honours were decreed to him who saved one citizen, what honours ought to decorate him, who saves the lives of hundreds committed to his charge! Men so essential to the defence of the invaluable possessions of his country. Men who in these luxurious times are raised and sent to the West Indies, at such vast expense. Surely, the consideration of these important national concerns, merit the attention of the beneficent Sovereign, and of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief. Never, perhaps, was a regulation better devised, than that court martial, to which every captain of the royal navy is to submit, who loses one of his Majesty's ships or vessels; and no commander of his Majesty's land forces ought to be displeased to have his conduct investigated, previous to the remains of his regiment being drafted into another corps. It therefore, is most ardently to be wished, that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to direct, that a board of inquiry may be instituted in every colony, where regiments become so reduced as to be drafted into other regiments; that the governor or commander in chief, be president; that previous to embarkation of the staff, the said board be empowered to call before them all officers, non-commissioned officers, or others, capable of giving testimony in the premises. That the proceedings of such board be immediately transmitted to his Majesty's advocate general, to be laid before his Majesty, who will decide thereon, in his known equity and wisdom.——But, if it is alleged, that such inquiry is useless, because such indiscipline as speedily would reduce a corps, could not escape notice of the colonial commander in chief; it is replied, that in sundry instances, regiments are cantoned distant from head quarters; that the officers for various obvious reasons, will not be forward to announce incapacity in their superiors; particularly, as it militates in favour of their being returned to Europe. And such advantage the naval commander on trial for the loss of his ship, cannot expect,

as his officers are independent of him.——Such officers as meritoriously preserve their troops, highly merit of his Majesty; and, notwithstanding the superior strength of their regiments, never ought, except in extreme urgency, to serve longer than usual; for, in such event, their exact discipline, and exemplary conduct meeting with no attention, would not by example stimulate succeeding regiments to such meritorious duty and conduct.——Troops never ought to serve longer in the West Indies than five years, (emergencies excepted) and such knowledge of their certain return, would strongly tend to promote the health and comfort of the troops, and operate powerfully as an antidote to that discouragement, with which officers and men embark on that service.——If it is observed, that an extraordinary expense would be incurred by removing the troops sooner than usual; it is to be observed also, that such paltry considerations ought to shrink before the humanity, justice, and policy of the measure in question. Enlightened minds can readily conceive, that many things, which forty years ago were expedient, are at present become inexpedient; and this, perhaps, is not inapplicable to the mode of drafting the remains of regiments into other regiments, by which they are doomed to almost extermination. This mode, though long sanctioned by custom, is repugnant to justice, humanity, and policy, and ought to be abolished.——A. B.——*August* 1, 1805.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

COMBINED FLEETS.—Against the disappointment, so evident in the public, and so loudly proclaimed by most of the newspapers, at the result of the operations of these fleets, a timely endeavour was made to guard the readers of the Political Register. It was, from what ought to have been concluded from Sir Robert Calder's first dispatch, but too probable, that nothing further was, for the present, at least, to be expected from the efforts of the squadron under his command; and, though that dispatch was not so circumstantial as it might have been, it by no means appears, from anything yet published, that the commander, or any commander, could have done more than he did. Nothing is easier than to cry out coward and traitor; but, let us hope, that such a cry will never affect the life or fortune or fame of any man, until he be fully and fairly convicted of the crime laid to his charge: let us hope that neither the persons nor the reputation of our commanders will ever stand upon so slippery a foundation as that of the hopes or fears of the babbling and unreflecting swarms of the metropolis, who always unite criminality with want of success, and who never inquire into the means by which success is accomplished, or into the consequences whereunto it leads; who are now reproaching the admiral because the combined fleets have got into Ferrol, but who seem to have forgotten, that it is to be attributed entirely to the *dollar-war*, in the success of which many of them so much exulted, that there was a combined fleet at sea, and that Ferrol was open to receive it. To the decision of such judges let us hope, that the conduct of our commanders is never to be subjected. Not a word do we hear from the 'Change against the conduct of those ministers, by whom we have been exposed to our present dangers; owing to whose war with Spain, and to whose subsequent management of our naval force, our colonies have been plundered or laid under contribution; a considerable convoy has been captured; and that the naval force of the enemy, the despised naval force of the enemy, has compelled our squadrons to fall back one upon another. Not a word does Lloyd's say upon this subject, while its sooty walls re-echo with reproaches against the admiral, who with fifteen sail of the line, captured only two out of the twenty that he engaged! But, admirals give no "accommodations" to loan-jobbers: admirals have none of the public money to lend, without interest: admirals possessing none of the means by the overflowings of mercantile avarice or mercantile trepidation are kept within decent bounds. It is not meant here to cast a slur upon the mercantile *character*; and those who choose to understand it in that way, must take their resentment for their pains; but, when we hear, from the city, such loud expressions of disappointment, such clamourous accents of censure on the admiral, and hear not, from the same quarter, a word against the conduct of those, of whose measures the present lamented events are the natural and *obvious* consequence, to refrain from an exposure of the inconsistency, would be to merit a full share of the contempt for which it calls. ——When unfortunate events have taken place, it is perfectly useless to sit down with folded hands and repine. This is not what the leaders of the French have done. Every new embarrassment, with them, and with all other men who have extricated themselves from greater dangers, has ever given rise to new and extraordinary exertions; and, amongst such exertions has been that of getting the better of their prejudices and

their errors. The season of misfortune is, with a nation destined finally to triumph, the season for reflection also, upon which principle it is that I have now, in the selection of my MOTTO, endeavoured to recall the minds of my readers to the opinions held, or, at least, expressed, by the present ministers, in their defence of the Preliminaries of Peace with France; I say ministers, because the reader will find, by a reference to the debates, that the Pitts and Dundases, every one of them, joined in the sentiments of Lord Hawkesbury, upon which sentiments the present situation of affairs precludes the necessity of any comment; nor, is it at all necessary to remind the reader, that sentiments exactly opposite, and foreboding precisely what has now taken place, were repeatedly pressed upon the country by Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and, indeed, by all those who opposed the peace; that peace, which Mr. Pitt defended, which he applauded, which he described as a subject of national pride and exultation, and as meriting, to the ministers who made it, the praise and the lasting gratitude of the country. "Well," some Pittite will exclaim, "and did not Mr. Fox too approve "of the peace?" Yes, but it was upon the ground of *necessity*. It was because the war could, in his opinion, be carried on no longer, without risking the very existence of the nation as an independent body. It was because the peace put an end to those, as *he described them*, hypocritical professions upon which the war was conducted. But, to Mr. Pitt belong the peace, the previous war, and the present war. All these three are to be viewed together; and all of them as the measures of the Pitts and Dundases; for, I repeat it again and again, that Mr. Addington acted constantly under their advice, not to say their controul.——To return, then, to their opinions, the hopes they held out to us, to the promises they made us, at the peace, and a specimen of which is given in the extract, the question we have to put to ourselves is, "have we any ground of reliance upon "such men?" Let us not be told, that this is no time for asking such questions. It is the proper time. It is the time when alone it is perfectly proper to ask them; because it is a time when we have the means of obtaining a solution. It is for want of wisdom in rulers, and foresight, in them, is the proof of wisdom, that nations suffer calamity and disgrace; and the degree of foresight possessed by Mr. Pitt and his colleagues may be easily ascertained by their opinions, compared with subsequent events. The truth is, that, if they possessed wisdom in the highest degree, they are too much taken up, and have been too much taken up, with *self*, with the important business of defending themselves, to attend to the business of the nation, which is with them, a matter of secondary consideration; and, agreeably to the main principle, upon which they and their adherents proceed, we may expect to hear the insufficient state of our navy, the apparently total want of authentic communication between the different squadrons, and the consequent escape of the combined fleets; all these, and the invasion of Ireland, were it to take place, we may expect to hear ascribed, not to the want of wisdom or integrity in the ministers, but to the *hampering and shackling effects of the motions and speeches of the Opposition!* And, if we reply, that, the Opposition being so strong is a good reason *for the ministry being changed*, your true Pittite will not hesitate a moment to declare us insane. Nay, a person of that description will, as to these very observations, object, that they are, in whatever degree they are likely to produce effect, calculated to add to our present dangers, by *compelling* the ministers to employ, in the preservation of their places, some more of that time, the whole of which ought to be devoted to the preservation of the country. A ministry so weak, so feeble both in mind and in the number and character of their supporters, possessing so very little confidence amongst the people, and, if possible, still less abroad, never can retrieve affairs such as ours now are. Nations, like individuals, are prone to shut their eyes to their dangers, especially after they have been some time upon the decline, and when the declining circumstances come pretty regularly one after another. Yet, one would think, that, whoever reflects upon the state of the public mind at the conclusion of the Preliminaries of Peace; whoever reflects upon what would have been, at that time, said of Mr. Windham, if he had predicted, that, in less than four years from that day, they would see the navy of France arrived at its present pitch; would see that navy laying several of our West-India islands under contribution; capturing or destroying all the ships in their harbours; first capturing and then burning a rich convoy of our merchantmen; and in such force upon the coasts of Europe as to compel our squadrons to sheer off from its presence: whoever reflects upon what would have been said of him; whoever reflects upon the bitter invectives, the

vile misrepresentations, the malignant imputations, which such a prediction would have brought from the hirelings of The Family, joined by all the base and selfish crew of dealers in funds and paper-money; whoever reflects on this, and who, at the same time, perceives that the present resentment of the public is confined merely to the conduct of an Admiral, who, at most, has only failed in the amount of a ship or two captured or destroyed, must, one would think, be satisfied that we are, though silently, going rapidly down. Already do we patiently hear the Pitt newspapers express a hope, a "*fond* hope," it is in the Morning Post, that the combined fleets are not "too powerful for the force which Admiral Cornwallis *will soon have* to oppose them." This we are already come to. We hear it *with patience;* and from such a state of mind men are not far removed from a disposition to "make the best of a bad matter;" or, in other words, to submit to disgrace without anguish, and almost without reluctance. Such, however, is so naturally the effect of the *defensive* system, that it would be matter of wonder if we did not now see it exist. You never yet saw a country conquered that did not, for some years before, act upon a system of self-defence; I mean pure self-defence; and this system inevitably arises out of an excessive commerce and its constant attendants, an excessive love of wealth, and a corresponding dread of all hazardous or arduous undertakings. All this our enemy is well acquainted with; and, not to profit from his knowledge, was never amongst the number of his failings. In India, where the fighting is carried on without any danger to us, and, for the most part, by foreign troops, we are not content with a system of pure defence. There, indeed, we find conquests "necessary to preserve what we already possess;" but, here, at home, our maxim is "to keep ourselves to ourselves;" and we complain of, nay, we abuse, with the tongues of worse than fish-women, all those who discover a wish to disturb us; and the ministerial prints, the Morning Post in particular, has seized the occasion of the combined fleets being in Ferrol to reproach Buonaparte with all the crimes he has ever committed, and which crimes, would he but give security that his fleets should be destroyed, this same Morning Post would as loudly defend; a task the more easy, seeing that it has already defended them! This was, perhaps it will be said, when Buonaparte was friends with us, and when his very expression about the "*two* great nations" was faithfully retailed to us through the columns of the Morning Post, and the other Pitt newspapers. Let it never be forgotten, that, when, a little previous to the peace of Amiens, it was reported, that Holland and Spain made objections to the cession of Ceylon and Trinidad, the ministerial papers, particularly the Sun and the Morning Post, *exultingly* bid their readers be assured, that though those powers might "*grumble*, yet they *must submit*." Well, then, why do these prints now revile Buonaparté for having a Dutch and a Spanish navy in his service? Is it laudable in him to exercise despotic power over those nations, does he deserve praise for exercising it over them, when the object is to aggrandize us; and does he deserve abuse, nay curses, for exercising it when the object is to annoy us? Such sort of justice may correspond with the opinions, or, rather, the feelings of the thoughtless and enervated tribe, on the humouring of whom such prints as the Morning Post rests its hopes of the only species of success which it has in view; but, we may be assured, that it corresponds not with the notions of those amongst mankind whose opinions are of any weight in determining the fate of nations.——Before we take leave of this subject, it may not be improper to notice, generally, the indications of public indignation uniformly shown in all wars, previous to those of the Pitts and their associates, at any apparent neglect in the department of the navy; and, for a particular instance, let us take one, where Mr. Pitt himself made a conspicuous figure; I allude to the inquiry, moved for, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Fox, in 1781, into the conduct of Lord Sandwich. At the beginning of that war, France, or rather the House of Bourbon, was equal, if not superior to us in maritime force. Previous to the epoch referred to, Holland had joined in the war against us; and, it is well known, that the coast and harbours of our revolted colonies kept constantly occupied a fleet of not less than twenty sail of the line, besides great numbers of frigates and sloops of war. Yet, under such circumstances, did the loss of Saint Kitt's, and some other comparatively trifling reverses, produce so great a degree of indignation in the country as to render it impossible for the first Lord of the Admiralty to hold his place. He did not, indeed, hang on like one of The Family; but, if he had been so disposed, there is every reason to suppose, that he would not have been able. Upon that occasion Mr. Pitt was amongst the foremost of the accusers; and it may not be amiss to hear a

little, only a very small part, of what he said, upon the tardiness of the Admiralty to produce the papers called for by the House of Commons: "I must," said he, "beg "leave to differ with my right hon. friend, "in his observation, that the House, re- "marking this conduct of the Admiralty, "will be fatigued and give up the pursuit "in despair. *God forbid!* No: they will, "on the contrary, view it as a silent symp- "tom of conscious guilt; they will, if they "see that there is a design to overthrow "that by management, which cannot be "resisted if fairly met, consider the Ad- "miralty Board as labouring under the con- "viction of delinquency; they will say, "that it carries with it strong symptoms of "dark, latent, lurking guilt, which covets "concealment. That, after all the sound- "ing, proud boasts, challenges, and de- "fiances, they sink into mean and wretched "pretences, hoping to secure themselves, "for a time, from the *infamy* of that de- "tection that must come upon them at last. "Nay, that they are so *fond of place*, that, "for the sake of another week's life, they "will fall so low as to *practice a little ma-* "*nœuvre* on the House, and live upon the "precarious and temporary acquiescence of "parliament." Such was his language with regard to Lord North and his colleagues. Such was his tone; such the style in which, when out of place, he arraigned the conduct of the "*King's government*," of "*his Majesty's confidential servants!*" Whether his conduct (for as to that of the old gentleman at the Admiralty, whose name I have forgotten, that is out of the question) will become the subject of an inquiry is more than I can say; but, if it should, the passage here quoted from the reports of Debrett, 28th January, 1781, may be not altogether without its use.

INVASION.——This was the word last August; it was the word the August before; and it will be the word every August, as long as the Pitt system exists. There may be a year, or, perhaps, a couple of years, when, in consequence of a peace, we shall be less alarmed at the dangers of invasion; but, as long as that *system* remains, let who will be minister, we shall never again know a really tranquil month of August. Am I again told, that I say this, because I predicted, nearly four years ago, that such would be the consequence of the disgraceful conclusion of the last war? I answer, that, whatever may be the motive, from which I repeat this saying, it certainly is not rendered less true, nor less worthy of attention, by the circumstance of its having been, thus far, fulfilled by events. Before I proceed to offer a few observations, which appear to me as likely to be useful in leading to a somewhat settled opinion as to the mighty event, which now again occupies so large a portion of the thoughts of the public, it seems proper to notice the manner, in which the diurnal prints are speaking of it; and, for reasons which will, as we proceed, become obvious enough, I shall quote the MORNING POST and the ORACLE, the two prints so amply quoted last year (Vol. VI. p. 570, et seq.) upon the subject of Mr. Pitt's and Lord Melville's decisive victory gained over the French flotilla by the catamarans. The Morning Post is not remarkable for a pithy style. Of words it is seldom sparing. What it has said upon the present occasion might, perhaps, have been expressed, full as well, if not better, in three sentences; but, in order to possess a complete view of the state of the writer's mind, and of the mind of the far greater part of his readers, we must take him as he lies before us; of the advantage of doing which we have an instance in the passage last year quoted from him, and which we shall presently have occasion more particularly to refer to. He begins, as the reader will perceive, with an opinion that the enemy *is coming*, and concludes with expressing a wish that he may *make good his landing*. But, let us hear him; patiently, if we can; and, at any rate, let us hear him out. "An attempt was *certainly* "made by the enemy to put to sea on Sa- "turday last, but a sudden change of wind "frustrated their intention. They con- "tinue, however, in a perfect state of rea- "diness to sail, and no doubt is entertained "of their determination to avail themselves "of the first favourable opportunity to carry "their design into execution. From the "French coast, similar intelligence has been "received, relative to the preparations and "designs of the enemy in that direction; "and government, we repeat, *entertain no* "*doubt* of the desperate attempt being "*shortly* hazarded from different quarters. "——To those who have minds capable of "being gratified with the sight of public "virtue, the efforts which are making by "our brave countrymen in arms to prepare "themselves for the threatened blow, and "the ardour which they manifest to meet "the unprincipled and implacable threatener, "must afford the *highest possible enjoy-* "*ment*. But one sentiment pervades the "numerous ranks of our gallant defenders. "*Let, then, the enemy come*; let them try "whether the British bayonet, the force "of which in other countries they have so

" frequently and so fatally experienced, will " be pushed with less vigour on British " ground. For our own parts, we contem- " plate the approaching contest with *calm* " *confidence*; convinced, as we are, that the " day of combat will prove a day of glory " to Britain. There are, doubtless, indi- " viduals who regard this *patriotic* spirit, " and the exertions to which it stimulates, " with the sneer of self-sufficient sagacity, " and who congratulate themselves on their " superior wisdom in *having avoided the* " *fatigues and inconveniences to which they* " *see their neighbours cheerfully expose* " *themselves.* We do not envy such men " the torpor of their feelings, although we " are willing to attribute it to an erroneous " estimate of *the danger to which the coun-* " *try is at present exposed.* Sorry, indeed, " should we be, could we for a moment " bring ourselves to suppose, that there " were a hundred voices in the island capa- " ble of echoing the declaration of a certain " factious demagogue, " that *the country* " *was not worth defending.*" No; we are " convinced that the contrary is too firmly " established; we are convinced that there " never existed a nation more sensible of " the blessings which we enjoy, or more " unanimously determined to guard them " against the attempts of an assailant, of " whom it may with truth be said, that " " havock, and spoil, and ruin, are his " gain." Had we not assumed our present " attitude of defence, no one will be sense- " less enough to contend, that the armies " of France would not, long since, have " been poured upon our shores. To many " (and many to whose opinions and feelings " we pay the highest respect), the possibi- " lity that our undismayed aspect may deter " the haughty threatener, is a subject of " satisfactory contemplation. For ourselves, " we have no hesitation in avowing, that " the moment when we learn *he has made* " *good his landing*, will be to us a moment " of *exultation*. Relying, with the utmost " confidence, on the patriotism, on the " bravery, and, we will add, on the skill of " *our* brethren in arms, we entertain not " the slightest doubt that the result would " prove to the world the hopelessness of " any future attack on a country, the in- " habitants of which are so closely and cor- " dially united in the defence of every thing " dear to them, in the defence of every " thing for which existence is desirable."

—Taking the several parts of this " pa- " triotic" effusion in the order, in which they present themselves, we have first to observe the opinion that the enemy is *certainly coming*, that it is supported neither by fact nor reasoning, and that, to all appearance, it has no foundation in truth. —— Of the " calm confidence," with which this " patriotic spirit contemplates the approaching contest," a tolerably correct judgment may be formed from the confusion of ideas, and the contradictory positions, so obvious through the whole of his remarks. ——Fright is generally, if not always, accompanied with anger, partly arising from a sense of danger and partly from that of the shame of appearing to be afraid; and, the objects of such anger are, those who cause the fright and those who are the witnesses of its effects. Accordingly, we see, that this " patriotic spirit" falls about him, and that, too, without much rule or reason; for, at a moment when he was calling upon his readers for unanimous exertion, was it wise, was it " patriotic," to talk of persons, " who " *congratulate* themselves in having *avoided* " the fatigues and inconveniencies, to which " they see *their neighbours cheerfully ex-* " *pose themselves?*" Was this wise? And is the charge just? I am persuaded the reader will agree with me, that it is an insinuation totally groundless, and arising solely from the base feeling above described; and, if it could, coming through so contemptible a channel, produce any effect upon the public mind, it would be that of setting men on to reproach, and, perhaps, to murder one another. We have, we have been told a hundred times, 700,000 men in arms. Our whole population does not afford more than three times that number, capable of bearing arms; and yet, are we to be reproached, because we do not enough expose ourselves to fatigues and inconveniencies? And, is the proper person to reproach us, he who " pa- " triotic" expresses his wish to hear, that the enemy " has made *good his landing?*" ——Not less malignant, nor less false, is the imputation against Sir Francis Burdett, whose words, that " the country *was not* " *worth defending*," are placed within marks of quotation, as if extracted from some authentic report of a speech of his; when the fact is, as I have before shown, that he did not utter any such words, upon the occasion alluded to, and that, in all the other public prints except this very Morning Post, his words conveyed quite a different sentiment, which was this, that, when the people were called on for money, or for extraordinary exertions of any sort, it was a proper time to redress their grievances, and thereby make them feel that their money would be useful to themselves and that their country was worth defending; a sentiment,

which, though perfectly constitutional, it might not, in very critical times, be prudent, in every situation, to express; but, will any one say, that it was a sentiment severely to be censured? And, I am sure no man, whose good opinion is worth having, will deny, that it has been, in the above-quoted paragraph of the Morning Post, most basely misrepresented. But, suppose there to have been no misrepresentation at all: suppose Sir Francis Burdett to have uttered, two or three years ago, the sentiment here falsely imputed to him: was there any thing "patriotic" in reviving, at a moment like this, the remembrance of his indiscretion, or, if you will have it so, of his disaffection? What is the object; what can possibly be the use, of seasoning all these alarms with insinuations against some part or other of the people?——The propriety of this question will become the more evident, when we have read the passage alluded to in the ORACLE, the print, as the reader will not have forgotten, under the immediate control of the UPSTART. This print, after stating, with confidence equal, at least, to that of the Morning Post, that the enemy may be hourly expected, makes some remarks upon the means of defence provided by the ministers, and throws out some pretty broad hints, that the volunteer system has been found inefficacious, and that the volunteers are not very eager to assist in executing the wise intentions of "his Majesty's confidential servants," who compose "the King's government." These remarks are well worthy of public attention. They are the reproaches proceeding from ministerial disappointment and chagrin. "In this situation of things, the measures which have been adopted shew, that the administration of the country is in the hands of men who are not afraid to look danger in the face, but who, at the same time, are not so presumptuous, overweening, or negligent, as to omit any measure which may be necessary for rendering our security doubly secure.——The measures which have been adopted in regard to the volunteer system, are in a particular manner to be looked upon as dictated by *imperious necessity*. It is not owing to the want of public spirit in the people, nor to any national effeminacy, as the malignant and ill-disposed" [*name* them! name them, UPSTART!] "would insinuate that "*any relaxation in the efforts of our volunteers* is to be attributed. They were "brought together by a sense of the impending dangers of their country" [joined to a dread of the ballot]; "they were *long* "retained in their duty by the same cause; "and, it was only when they judged their "country secure, that their efforts *began to* "*relax*. When they know, that this danger is *not yet over*; that the inveterate "enemy of their country is about to make a "desperate effort for its destruction, it is "not to be *doubted* that these brave men "will *again rally* round the standards of "their country, and will make every effort "to acquire that perfection in military discipline, on which the safety of their "country, and their own glory must depend. If, indeed, *there be defects* in the "volunteer system which might have been "avoided; if *it be* not so well compacted, "so firm, and so vigorous as might have "been, this cannot be attributed to the *present* administration; but to that *feeble* "and *inefficient* set of men, by whom the "volunteer system was, at the commencement, adjusted. It would be the height "of injustice to attribute *these errors* to "men, who were then placed at a distance "from the councils of government, and "who have made it their business to repair "*those defects*, which they had it not in "their power originally to prevent. No "one can deny that government has at present adopted those measures which seem "most likely to render the volunteer and "yeomanry force, in its present constitution, effectual for the defence of the country. All these corps are to be immediately inspected, together with those means "of conveyance by which they may with "the greatest dispatch be brought to the "scene of action in case of necessity. In "order to render these measures still more "effectual, it is said that, if urgent occasion "should seem to require the adoption of "such a measure, the *Levy en Masse* will "also *without delay* be called out. At the "same time every precaution is taken to "have the regular troops in the best state "of preparation for immediate action; and "furloughs for assisting to gather in the "harvest are very properly suspended, "while the country may require the service of the soldiers in a still more important object."——After an eulogium on "the *wisdom* and *vigilance* of the *naval* administration," the writer concludes in a manner that will, I am certain, fully justify the suspicions above hinted at. "At the "same time, we must remind our countrymen, that a government cannot *do* all. "If the inhabitants of a country merely look on, while the servants of the public are "doing every thing to render the nation secure; if the people are *more ready to*

"*sure then to assist*; and if the *many indo-*
"*lently fail in doing their duty*, and *blame*
"*the few* for not doing *more than lies in*
"*their power*; *it is impossible* that the
"exertions of *any ministry* can be attended
"with *due success*."——This is so palpable; the object is so evident, that very little need be said by way of comment. But, it is impossible to refrain from expressing one's indignation:—no; it is not indignation; it is contempt, at the miserable subterfuge, by which the eulogists of Colonel Pitt are attempting to shift from his shoulders the "*blame*" (mark the word!) "the blame" of the organization of the Volunteer system! Shameless hirelings! the very same, who, not quite a year ago, had the unprincipled impudence to hint at the propriety of cashiering Sir Robert Wilson, because he wrote and published a letter to Mr. Pitt pointing out the errors and the inefficacy of the volunteer system! It is false. The Pitts and Dundases had a principal share in the organization of the volunteer system. They have done nothing to make it better, and many things have they done to make it worse and more inefficient if possible, than it otherwise would have been; and, let one fact not be lost sight of, that, it is *since* they came into place, that the ministerial papers have begun to complain of the want of zeal in the volunteers.——"If the inhabitants of a country *merely look on*, while the servants of the public" [it used to be "the King's government"] "are doing every thing to render the nation secure; &c. &c." Yes; but here is the little word of great meaning; *if*; if the inhabitants of a country merely look on. But, do we, then, merely look on? Are there not 700,000 men in arms? Do we not pay in taxes more than thirty millions a year? Are not the men of property mere stewards to collect money and to yield it to the state? Have not our property and our labour this year been mortgaged for an immense sum, to be paid in pensions to the Dundases and others? Are we not, every man of us, compelled to give an account of all he possesses and of all he earns to the last penny; liable to be called up, to be examined, to be remanded, to be called up again, to be reproved, to be discharged, and God knows what? Is not this so? And shall we be told, by an Ur-Lart, who, probably, is living upon the produce of our labour, that we "merely look on;" that we "indolently fail in our duty;" and, that, if our country be conquered the fault is with us?——Another opportunity for observation upon this subject I offer: in the mean time, I may, I think, safely leave these writers to the indignation of the public.——Let us, however, not be led away by this indignation, or by any other feeling, excited by the conduct of our ministers or their adherents; let no misconduct, no neglect, no imbecility, no incapacity, no insolence, on their part; in short, let nothing make us forget, that, if we defend not our country, if we become the slaves of foreigners, it will be no consolation to us, that the chief fault was in our rulers. Let us all, and every one of us separately, do the utmost in our power to repel the enemy, should he come, and, begin immediately, those who have not already begun, to make preparations for the occasion. Not by mere professions and showy exhibitions; not by empty gasconading and pot-valiant toasts; not by *erecting monuments* in honour of corps that never saw, and, most likely, never intend to see, an enemy: not by fooleries like these, calculated to encourage rather than discourage the foe; but, by a modest, sober, steady, resolute language and conduct, each of us being active in his sphere, inculcating the necessity of exertion and of great and long continued sacrifices, and each of us strengthening, in all the ways he is able, the regular army, our sole permanent defence. Those who have an opportunity, and are qualified for the task, should exhort their hearers not to suffer their just resentment against peculators and the abettors of peculators to grow into resentment against the constitution; they should bid them remember, that, if peculation has been so long carried on with impunity, the fault has been in the people themselves, and not in the constitution; they should bid them exert, in a constitutional manner, their utmost means to obtain a redress of their grievances, but, at the same time, not forget the duty equally great of defending their country; in short, they should warn them against the tendency of every feeling tending to produce indifference as to the fate of their country, assuring them, as safely they may, that, to abandon the country under the pretence that its rulers have rendered it not worth defending will never serve them as a justification in the eyes of the world. Indeed, what pretence can be more descriptive of baseness? If the country be rendered not worth defending, to whom is the evil to be ascribed but the people themselves? No minister, however deservedly execrated, could long continue in power without the will, or, without the want of exertion in the people. If they complain of the effects of corruption; I ask them, is it not their fault that those effects have not been restrained? Cor-

ruption is contrary to the constitution and laws of the country; it is a violation of those rights which were handed down to us by our fathers; and, if it has, in our time, grown up to a height beyond all former example, shall we, for that cause, turn our back upon our country? Shall we first silently see the evil grow up, wink at its progress from the base motive of fear, or, perhaps, of profit; and, when it has become so enormous as no longer to be hidden, shall we avail ourselves of it as a pretext for deserting our country; as an excuse for our baseness in yielding up ourselves and our children to a foreign yoke? No: let us hope, that the charge of this double infamy is not to be preferred against us by posterity. Let us remember, that England, though burdened and disgraced by the effects of corruption, is still England, still our country, still our own, still the land where we first saw the light, where our parents lie buried, where our children must be freemen or slaves; let us remember these things, and there is no fear that either suffering or disgust will render us indifferent to the fate of our country. The enemy may not attempt to invade us. I am firmly of opinion, that, for a year or two to come, he will not. But, we ought to be prepared; and one sort of preparation is, to make our minds up to *a long delay*; and, finally, to a *great change* in the system of our internal economy; for, without that, I have never yet heard suggested the means whereby we should obtain tranquillity and security for a single year. Many persons have I met with, and some of them, as the reader will, doubtless, have perceived, have appeared in print; many persons who express surprise, and some of them (for what reason one can hardly perceive) anger, at the opinion above given; but, upon such occasions I have always asked, upon *what grounds* was built the hope of returning tranquillity to England, or *where* she would, the present debt existing, find the means of providing for her security for five years to come. These questions I have fifty times put; and I have never yet received a satisfactory answer. Indeed, I have never received any answer calculated to shake, in the smallest degree, my opinion upon the subject. I may, nevertheless, be deceived. But, until something like reason be produced to show that I am, I shall continue to think, that, amongst the services which a political writer can render his country, is, to prepare the minds of his readers for the event which I expect, and which is big with danger to the independence of a country and the existence of its constitution only when it comes upon an *unprepared* people. On the enemy, too, such a mode of proceeding, amongst those who speak and write upon political subjects, would have the best possible effect. One paragraph, showing that the total failure of the funds would strengthen rather than weaken the country, would weigh in our favour more than ten million of columns of that boasting bombast, that bully-like bragging, that fear-dictated defiance, which we see retailed through the MORNING POST for the comfort of the "FASHIONABLE WORLD." But, such a paragraph, in any of the prints dependent, in so great a degree, upon the advertisements which trade and fund-dealing bring, is not, yet a-while, to be expected. Come, however, such paragraphs will; for the event is coming on with a force which is not to be resisted by the interests either of individuals, or bodies of men; and, the only danger is, that they may come too late; too late to produce the necessary preparation.

WAR IN INDIA.——To endeavour to follow the East-India dispatch-writers through their details would be excessively tiresome, and, withal, perfectly useless. We gather, from their recent accounts, that they have had more fighting; more wars of "necessity;" more bloody enterprises for the purpose of "securing the territory we already possess," and for "preserving the *tranquillity* of India;" and, we learn, besides, that the events, as hitherto announced, have verified, with great exactness, Mr. Francis's prediction, that Holkar and his adherents would be more dangerous in their flight, than they had been in their approach. The fact appears to be, that the hero of the East has, at last, inspired cowards with some degree of courage; has goaded them on, till they have turned, and, for a-while, at least, taken vengeance.——The only circumstance, in these details, upon which the mind rests, is a sorrowful one, namely, the great loss in the European part of our army in India. This loss must be *supplied*. And *how*? Have we regular soldiers to spare? Is this a moment for shipping off three or four thousand of our little army to the other side of the globe; and to fight *for what*? For *whose* security? For *whose* glory? To *enrich whom*? The *liberties of whom* to preserve?——There is, upon record, a solemn declaration of the parliament, that it is unwise as well as unjust for us to add to our conquests in India. Yet, we are continually adding to those conquests; continually acting in direct contradiction to that declaration; continually at war, not only against the natives of India but against our own possessions, and, against our own clearly

perceived interests.——When the parliament made the declaration above-mentioned, it was well satisfied, that the wars in India, and the consequent plunder, tended to enrich the persons concerned in them, but by no means to better the condition of England. It saw, in those sometimes-cruel and always-inglorious wars, a source of upstart wealth, of encroachment upon the ancient aristocracy, of effiminacy of manners, and of the basest species of corruption; it saw, to quote a sentiment of Mr. Pitt previous to *his fall*; it saw, that, by the means of those justly reprobated wars, "many of the mem-"bers of parliament become the represen-"tatives of the Nabob of Arcot rather than "of the people, or any part of the people, "of England." These things the parliament saw, and the declaration was made with a view of putting a stop to the evil. But, of what use has been that declaration? Wars have been incessant, from that day to this; and yet, has there ever been any inquiry into the conduct of those, by whom those wars have been begun and carried on? Have we not, on the contrary, seen every attempt to obtain inquiry stifled, by one means or another; and, have we not, even within these few months, seen the parliament pass a vote of thanks to a person who had commenced and prosecuted a war in India, without having advertised the ministers at home of his intention? And, the reader ought to recollect, that, when, at the time of passing this vote, it was suggested, that, previous thereunto, some account of *the grounds* of the war ought to be given, the suggestion was rejected, almost with disdain, and the vote of thanks was unanimous! After this, the solemn declaration of parliament should, I think, be rescinded; for it is a standing accusation against the conduct of the government, both at home and abroad, with regard to India.——We often hear very pathetic lamentations over the lot of those who are slain in battle; but, it does not occur to me, at present, that I ever heard any lamentations at all over the thousands of our fellow-subjects, who have perished in the wars in India. They have the honour to die for the good of trade, and for the prosperity of India stock! A consideration that wipes the tears from all eyes! Their death, some Jew for whom, amongst others, they bleed, will tell you, is a melancholy thing, but "it *cannot be avoided*." The stocks of whatever sort, like Mr. Pitt's place, are always regarded as something too sacred to be touched, or, if an evil, an evil to which we are, by our nature, or by the constitution of our country, at least, destined to submit, and to which, if we are wise, we will submit without murmuring. The public will soon see another embarkation of troops for India; and, what is more, they will hear the measure applauded. The loss of men in India may be regretted, especially as it has not, that we have yet heard of, been productive of the means of making nabobs in England; but, no objection will be made to the sending of *more men*, though, one would think, every man must see of what vast importance it is for us to keep in Europe all the regular soldiers we can possibly raise.

CONTINENTAL COALITION.——From the language of the French official paper, it would seem, that a coalition of Austria and Russia, if not of Prussia too, is apprehended at Paris. If the *three* powers join heartily in the war, and if the object be worthy of them, and be definitely and openly declared, the liberties of Europe may once more be restored, especially if we should be so fortunate as to obtain a ministry in whom the Powers of Europe can safely confide. The Moniteur really does seem alarmed. It begins to be *civil*, and, as amongst the Pittites, that is no very unsatisfactory sign of its apprehensions. Those apprehensions are, however, groundless, unless the war has some object more disinterested than that of reducing the power of France. The French armies will have made considerable progress in Germany, before the Russians can have arrived; but, in the mean time, *our* apprehensions of invasion will be lessened, and, perhaps, quite dissipated. This, notwithstanding it may delay the event so eagerly wished for by the MORNING POST, will, I think, be very welcome to the country, and especially to the volunteers. But, if the coalition, another coalition, should fail! If Napoleon, either by force or by craft, should break it up! What will then be the apprehensions that we shall entertain of invasion? This is not, indeed, an argument against a coalition; but it is a most powerful argument against a coalition which shall not be of great power and well cemented; for, after the failure of another coalition, our danger would be ten times as great as it now is, and this, I think, must be evident to every one. If there is to be a coalition, let us hope, however, that it will be composed of strong and firmly-cemented materials, and, above all, that its *foundation* will be good and clearly described.

DOWNSHIRE ELECTION.——The public have not failed to express their satisfaction at the result of this contest, a contest between the dying influence of the Pitts and

Melville" and the incorrupt and independent part of the people of a county in Ireland. A similar triumph has been obtained in England; and, were the heaven-born minister to venture on the talked-of measure of calling a new parliament, we should, I trust, convince him, that the infatuation of 1784 is gone, never to return. The truth is, that the facts brought to light last winter have produced a deep impression upon the public mind. The shine, the false glare, is rubbed off, and all the deeds of a twenty years ministry, during which the people were completely blinded, are now, one by one, passing in review before them. *Elections* afford the best opportunities for the people to express and to give effect to their sentiments; and, if they neglect those opportunities, they deserve no redress; they deserve to be oppressed; they deserve to be ridden and squeezed to death. They have, in the right of election, a security against the corruption and rapacity of ministers, and, if they so exercise this right, or so neglect to exercise it, that the ministers are, parliament after parliament, corrupt and rapacious, they deserve no compassion. They are, in fact, if such be their conduct, fashioned for slavery, and slaves they must be, and ought to be.

Bolton, Thursday,
22d August, 1805.

CONTINENTAL COALITION.

From the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 13th of August, 1805.

We are by no means surprised, that the number of troops which Austria is putting in motion, should incline England to believe that Austria is disposed to enter into a coalition against France; but we entertain a better opinion of the pacific sentiments of the Emperor of Germany. The experience of the past, abundantly proves, that Russia would feel no reluctance to behold England and France wasting one another by a long war, in order to avail herself of the opportunity held out to her by their dissensions, of invading the empire of Constantinople and of Persia; and we repeat, that we should feel no reluctance to behold such a scene, because she left unimproved no occasion that offered of embroiling instead of adjusting the state of affairs. The conduct of M. Markoff at the time of the rupture of the peace of Amiens, cannot well be forgotten. Had Russia been then inclined to interpose, the war would never have taken place; as that of M. Mar[illegible]ation of his Sovereign [illegible]de, that it was cons[illegible] the Russian cabinet. [illegible]otten with what rancorous animosity Russia since intervened at Ratisbon, throwing down the gauntlet to France, and exerting every possible effort to precipitate the Germanic body into hostilities. The Germanic body proved however more wise; they were well aware that the scene of action would be in Germany and Italy; they prudently recollected that it was the uniform policy of the North to aggrandize and compact their power by the divisions and consequent debility of the South: they therefore remained in a calm composure, lost sight of the Russian notes, and clung more closely to their friendship with France.——Laterally the English have had recourse to Russia. If such a step had only to add fuel to and foment the ambition of that power, and exasperate her animosity against France, it has succeeded. M. Novosiltzoff returned (nothing more simple), but previous to his departure he delivered in an unsuitable note to the Prussian cabinet, and Mr. Alopeus lost no time in getting it published in all the journals of the North. If on the other hand England acted *bonâ fide*, and was sincerely desirous of peace, the conduct of Russia defeated her intention, whereas instead of temper and impartiality, Russia betrayed only intemperance and animosity. ——It remains now to be known, which of the two powers, Prussia or Austria, will be the first to declare against France. That Prussia has openly asserted, that she would keep aloof from the frantic rage of the English; that she was at a loss to see what such inconsiderate irritating proceedings could lead to; in fine, that under no pretext whatever should she be prevailed upon to take up arms against France. If Russia raised her tone, and endeavoured to involve Prussia in a war with France, the opinion of the veteran, Mollendorff, the intimate companion of Frederick the Great, that Prussia has nothing to fear from France, but every thing to dread from Russia, and that in point of justice as well as policy, she should rather unite 100,000 Prussians with 100,000 French, to assert her independence, and hold in awe, that half European, half Asiatic power, who, separated by deserts from Europe, presses down, when she pleases, with so much arrogance upon all her neighbours; while she may also, when she pleases, shelter herself from all the storms she has been diligent to raise.——It now depends upon the House of Austria to decide the question. Peace or war is in the hands of that Court. If England believes Austria to be as firm in her pacific system as she knows Prussia to be, she should silence her hatred, and meet the wishes of all nations, by evincing a sincere desire, a desire neither cloaked

in cunning, or set forth with ostentation, to conclude an equitable and useful peace.——If Austria takes any delight in seeing France and England worry one another, she will order her armies to march, she will adopt proper dispositions to encourage the war faction in England, and she will acquire the melancholy glory of protracting the anxieties and the sufferings of two great nations.——But the English deceive themselves; such policy can never influence the conduct of a Prince so open, a man so excellent as the Emperor Francis II. There is for Princes, as for individuals, but one road to honour. If the Emperor Francis was hostilely disposed, he would erect his standard. He has a gallant army; a numerous population; he is convinced that a hollow, lowly muttered war, is unworthy of him, and of the nation he governs.——We have no doubt but that Austria is anxious for the glory of contributing to a maritime peace, and she, too, is interested in it, since the present moment alone may determine the separation of the crowns of France and of Italy; that it may bar the Russians from Corfu and the Morea; and the English from the Mediterranean, three things equally advantageous to Austria. If such, we say, be the wish of Austria, she has a very simple way to accomplish it. Let her convince England of what Prussia has convinced her; and let the ministerial journals no longer have any colourable pretext to induce a belief that by degrees Austria may be prevailed upon imprudently to become the stalking-horse of England.——But is it the interest of England to prolong the war, even with the aid and co-operation of Austria?——A well-informed Englisman observed, upon a solemn occasion, that the Cabinet of St. James's was in a wrong direction, when it wished and endeavoured to purchase a coalition by pecuniary sacrifices; for (said he) it was the first coalition that delivered up Belgium and Holland to France; that the second gave her Piedmont and Italy; and that the third might give her new coasts and new harbours. This political lesson, which is liable to no suspicion in the mouth of an English citizen, may appear so in this journal, but it is not the less true for that. In the present position of affairs, England can look for nothing so advantageous and so profitable to her commerce as a just and reasonable peace.——Let England be persuaded that the present race of Frenchmen, educated and hardened in camps, are no longer the Frenchmen of Louis the IVth's reign; that the time when she dictated a treaty of commerce to the Cabinet of Versailles is almost as remote from us as the time when she kept a commissary at Dunkirk.—It was well said by the Emperor to the King of England, "The world is wide enough for the two nations," or, rather, should we say, for every nation.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Letter of His Majesty the King of Prussia, acknowledging Napoleon as Emperor of the French, dated Berlin, May 27, 1804.

Sir and Brother,——The desire to maintain and to cultivate those relations of amity, and that perfect good understanding, in which I have hitherto had the pleasure of being with the French Government, and at the same time to testify to you my high personal regard, has induced me to transmit, without delay, these presents to my Minister of State, the Marquis de Lucchesini, to accredit him to your person in the quality of my Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. I accordingly request you to believe whatever he may have the honour to say or to propose to you on my part. He will, in particular, fulfil my intentions by giving your Imperial Majesty to understand the sentiments which I have ever cherished towards you; the sincere interest which I have never ceased to take in all that is calculated to increase and strengthen the prosperity and the welfare of the nation over which you rule; and my ardent wishes that this prosperity may be still farther augmented by the happy restoration of peace and tranquillity in Europe. You will invariably find, in my mode of thinking and acting, the same candour and the same confidence in you, which I have hitherto been so anxious to shew you. While I give you this assurance, I likewise renew, with pleasure, that of the sentiments of friendship, and the highest consideration with which I am, your Imperial Majesty's good Brother and Friend,
——Frederic William.

Louis XVIII.—— *Letter of His Majesty the King of Sweden, to the Governor of Calmar, dated Stralsund, November 3, 1804.*

Sir,——After I was informed by your letter of the 25th of October, of the departure of his Majesty Louis XVIII. I could no longer refrain from expressing to you in particular, as well as to the other officers at Calmar, and to the inhabitants of that place, the extraordinary pleasure which I received from the exemplary conduct of them all during the residence of that illustrious personage in Sweden. His Majesty Louis XVIII. has himself borne the same testi-

mony, to which I pay so much the more regard, as I believe it to be a characteristic of Swedes to treat with respect and veneration the legitimate rulers of every country. This is the most satisfactory manner in which you can evince your attachment and devotion to me. I charge you to acquaint all whom it may concern with my sentiments, and rest, your truly affectionate,——GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH ACCOUNT OF THE LATE NAVAL ACTION.——*Dispatch from Admiral Villeneuve to the Minister of Marine, dated on Board the Emperor's Ship, Bucentaure, 8 Thermidor, 27 July, 40 leagues W. S. W. off Cape Finisterre.*

I have the honour, Monseigneur, to give you an account of the combined fleets having quitted Martinique on the 16th Prairial. On the 9th of July, being off Cape Finisterre, there came on an E. N. E. and N. E. wind, which blew with great violence. The Indomptable lost her maintopmast, and the fleet suffered much damage in its yards and sails. The wind moderated, but continued blowing from the same quarter, and I remained without being able to make more way, still contending with adverse winds to the 22d July, when I descried 21 sail of the enemy. I immediately formed in line of battle on the larboard tack. Admiral Gravina made to the Spanish squadron the signal to head the line, and he himself led the combined squadrons. The weather was excessively foggy; we steered towards the enemy, who steered towards us in a long line, with the apparent intention of hauling their wind upon our rear, and of placing it between two fires, by tacking before the wind. As soon as I saw them to leeward, I made the signal for luffing up and going about. The fog began to disperse. As soon as my signal was seen by Admiral Gravina, he immediately obeyed it with much resolution, and was followed by all the vessels of the fleet. As soon as he closed, he engaged the enemy's ships, which had already began their movement before the wind. But the fog then became so thick that it was impossible to see any thing, and each ship could scarcely see the vessel next to it.——The battle then began almost along the whole line. We fired by the light of the enemy's fire almost always without seeing them. It was only at the end of the battle, when the weather cleared up a little, that I could see to leeward of the line, a ship of the line under Spanish colours working to windward under her courses, her topsails struck; near her were two of the enemy's, one totally dismasted, and the other, a three-decker, with her topmast gone, and much cut in her rigging, running both before the wind. The dismasted ship appeared in great confusion, and could scarcely keep the sea with all her pumps going. An excessively thick fog covered the whole van and rear of the squadron, and prevented us from executing any movement. As far as I could see, all the advantage of the combat was with us. The fog did not abate during the remainder of the evening. During the night the two squadrons remained in sight, making signals to keep together. I thought, however, I perceived that the enemy retreated. As soon as the day broke we saw them much to leeward of us. All the reports received from the French vessels were satisfactory; those of Admiral Gravina evinced a firm determination to pursue and again attack the enemy. When the weather afterwards cleared up, we did not perceive two Spanish ships, le Firme and le St. Raphael. I ordered a general bringing-to, and forming a line of battle on the larboard tack, bore down upon the enemy. The wind abated, the sea was high, the enemy bore down, and it was impossible for me, during the whole of the day, to engage them in the manner I should have wished. I was busy all night in keeping the fleet in order, that I might be ready to renew the engagement at day-break. At the first peep of dawn I made signal to bear down upon the enemy, who had taken their position at a great distance, and endeavoured, by every possible press of sail, to avoid renewing the action.——Finding it impossible to force them to a re-engagement, I thought it my duty not to remove any further from the line of my destination, but so to shape my course as to effect, agreeably to my instructions, a junction with the squadron in Ferrol. I experienced much opposition from contrary winds at N. E. and E. N. E. which during yesterday continued to blow with the utmost violence. The following is the only account I have received of the two ships which are missing from the Spanish squadron: Captain Cosmao, who commanded the Pluto, (a French ship), informed me that from the very beginning of the action the Firme had lost her main and mizen-masts; that he had protected her as long as he could keep sight of her, by placing himself between her and the enemy, but that he soon afterwards lost sight of her in the fog. As to the Saint Raphael, it appears certain that she was not dismasted, but that vessel being a bad sailor fell to leeward, and we lost sight of her the first night.——

conclude, the fog continued so thick, that I was unable to distinguish the force of the enemy, but on the day after the action I saw fourteen sail, of which three were three-deckers; the greater part of them appeared much damaged. If it is true, as stated by the Captain of La Didon, who reconnoitered the enemy before the action, that they had fifteen sail, it may be presumed that one of them had disappeared in the action. In short, my lord, this affair has been honourable to the arms of both powers, and had it not been for the thick fog which continued to favour the movements and the retreat of the enemy, he would not have escaped our efforts nor a decisive action. I am still ignorant of the number of killed and wounded, but I believe it is not considerable. I have to regret Capt. De Perrone, of his Majesty's ship l'Intrépide who was killed. Captain Rolland, of l'Atlas, has received a wound. I shall have the honour to send you immediately more detailed accounts. I intreat your Excellency to accept my respect.—— VILLENEUVE.

From on board his Imperial Majesty's Ship, Bucentaure at Sea, 22d Prairial, April 11.

My lord,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 19th inst. (April 8), having doubled Antigua, I got information that in the N. N. E. was a convoy of the enemy, consisting of 15 sail. I made signal for a general chace, and at night-fall, the whole of the convoy was in my power, which I sent off to Martinique. These ships, which had come out from Antigua, were all laden with colonial produce, and destined for Europe. The convoy may be valued at five millions (French). I intreat your Excellence to accept my respects.—VILLENEUVE. —P. S.—The Didon frigate has just taken a lugger of 14 guns, and 49 men.

On board the Bucentaure, off the Azores, on the 4th Messidor, June 23.

My lord,—I have the honour to inform your excellency, that yesterday morning the advanced frigates discerned two sail, to which they gave chace and came up with. One was an English privateer, the Mars, of Liverpool, of 14 guns, and 50 men; the other was a Spanish ship, the Minerva, which had been captured by the privateer, and which he was escorting. The ship was coming from Lima, having been at sea nearly five months, with a very rich cargo. Independent of 420,000 piastres, her cargo consisted of bark, cocoa, &c. &c. The whole estimation at from five to six millions (French). The privateer being much damaged from boarding, Captain Lameillerie, of the Hortense, set it on fire, after taking the crew on board. The Didon manned the other, and I have her under my protection. I entreat your Excellency to accept my respects.—— VILLENEUVE.

Notes on the English Account of the Engagement between Sir R. Calder and the Combined Fleets.

NOTE 1. From the Moniteur of the 8th of August.——Nothing is said in this account of the English three-deckers which were dismasted. It is said, that it was the intention of the Vice-Admiral to renew the action on the following day. That is not true, or at least the Vice-Admiral having afterwards found that his squadron was weakened by the loss of the Windsor Castle, and considerably damaged, changed his intention, as during two days which followed he constantly avoided an action.—Upon the idea of retreating into Corunna, the Moniteur says in Note 2.—"Retreat into Corunna! Strange expression! as if the object of the operation was not the junction of the combined squadrons with that of Ferrol!" In a word, the combined squadrons kept the sea, and five days after the battle were still off the coast.

NOTE 2. From the Moniteur of the 12th of August.—The hopes announced at the close of this article (the hopes of a renewal of the engagement and a more complete victory) have been disappointed.—Vice-Admiral Calder sheered off with his 13 ships of the line, and left the combined fleets mistresses of the sea, and at liberty to pursue their operations. The assertions of the English Journal are as erroneous as its conjectures. It is not true that the two Spanish ships struck. Having suffered in their rigging, and the combined fleet being to windward, they fell during the night into the enemy's line: the same thing would have happened to the three English vessels dismasted, if their squadron had been to windward; they would probably have fallen into the line of the combined fleets."—This is at least a very ingenious way of accounting for our having possession of two ships of a fleet that claims the advantage of the combat.

NOTE 3. From the Moniteur of the 13th of August.—It is true, that Vice-Adm. Villeneuve had 14 French and six Spanish ships of the line in the action; but it is by no means true, that he had three large 80 gun ships. Admiral Calder admits, in this dispatch, that he was the first to discontinue the action. The reason assigned by him, that he might secure two Spanish ships that had struck, is falsified by the statement of our squadron, inasmuch as these vessels

did not fall into his hands till after the engagement, and in the night, because they could not manœuvre, and were drifting before the wind. The real reason was, that he had four vessels dismasted.——Admiral Calder does not say that the Windsor Castle and the Malta were so rough handled, that they were scarcely able to make the coast of England; and thus his squadron was reduced to 18 ships.——As to the fog, it has been seen by the report of Admiral Villeneuve, that he too infinitely regretted it, and that if it had not taken place the English admiral would not have escaped as he has done.—— As to loss, the killed and wounded of the combined squadron, are far inferior in number to those on board the English squadron. This engagement fought in the midst of darkness, and continued for three hours, is really an irregular skirmish.

NOTE 4. From the Moniteur of the 14th of August.—[The following note is affixed to a paragraph copied from a paper of Aug. 4, which states, that the communication from the Admiralty to Lloyd's, was far more satisfactory than Sir Robert Calder's dispatch, because it expressed in a more decided tone his determination to renew the action.]——This communication is worthy of remark; the Admiralty might represent that Sir R. Calder would engage in the manner that it was their interest to suppose; but the Admiralty did not know that he had sent back two ships to England not only unfit for action, but altogether unable to keep the sea. They knew not that two other ships, three-deckers, had been greatly damaged; that the two Spanish vessels had not been captured during the action, but had fallen into the English line during the night, and long after Vice-Admiral Calder had ceased firing, and discontinued the action.

NOTE 5. From the Moniteur of the 14th of August.—[The following note is to an extract from the "Sun" stating the verbal message of Sir Robert Calder by Lieutenant Nicholson to Admiral Cornwallis, that he could and would renew the action:]—Here facts alone speak. You admit that the English squadron was the first to discontinue the fight, and to withdraw from the scene of action; this it did because it had four ships dismasted. You admit that Admiral Calder was to renew the attack on the following day, and that it was in his power to do so; he not only did not do so, but kept aloof, and at a great distance, and in the end, disappeared altogether. You say, that Admiral Calder has sent only the Windsor Castle to England, he has also sent the Malta.——In short your statements prove, that the combined fleet had the victory; two vessels have already left your squadron; and the eighteen ships of the combined squadron are in a good condition, have accomplished the object of their mission, and obliged you to raise your blockade.—This we take to be the truest sign of victory. Two Spanish vessels, bad sailers, equipped in haste, suffered greatly in the action, then drifted and fell into your hands during the night, without its being perceived by the combined squadron till the next day. It was a great loss; but you also have suffered a real loss of the two vessels that have been obliged to return to port.——Let us accurately compare the force of the two squadrons. You had three three-deckers, and we had none, for there is a mistake in your account, the Neptune and Formidable are but eighties, and the Spanish ship the Argonaut, is but a seventy-four. The combined squadron had twenty ships, but of two different nations; it is well known that they are not the same as twenty of the same nation. Besides, what more could be required from this squadron? It remained mistress of the sea, and compelled you to abandon the scene of action. An accident occurred in the thick of the fog, and this accident has screened your defeat; has enabled you to make it pass for a victory; but in proportion as things will clear up, Europe will be convinced that you have suffered a real defeat. The combined squadrons wished to enter Ferrol or Corunna, and Sir Robert Calder wished to prevent them. This is the problem that the action is to solve. Has the advantage been on your side, or has Admiral Villeneuve accomplished his mission?—The solution of this question will decide that of the victory. It is impossible not to have at once positive notions of this decisive fact. You say that the squadrons fought bravely; very well! the different accounts of the French and Spanish squadrons say, that they had not fought at all, and the whole had been but an irregular skirmish. If the following morning Admiral Calder had not had the prudence to keep aloof, and with the advantage of the wind, your defeat had been more complete.

DISTURBANCES AT VIENNA.——*Edict issued by the President of the Police relative to the Disturbances at Vienna, July* 10, 1805.

His Majesty, who, during the whole course of his reign, has received from his good and faithful subjects and inhabitants of the capital, the most frequent and most sincere proofs of attachment to his person, of attention to order and obedience to the laws, must have been very deeply concerned by

the news of the disturbances that broke out yesterday and to-day in the out-skirts of this city. His Majesty, however, is inclined to entertain the consolatory belief that these disorders have only been occasioned by a few desperate persons, who were soon followed by a number of ignorant and lazy fellows, under the influence of intoxication. In this supposition, his Majesty confidently expects that the faithful subjects and inhabitants of the capital will unite together for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and that, by a prompt and punctual obedience to all orders issued to that effect by the civil and military authorities, they will check the progress of these dangerous disturbances. By the express command of his Majesty, it is therefore ordered as follows:——1. All workmen, journeymen, &c. &c. shall forthwith return to their respective labour.——2. Parents, masters, manufacturers, &c. &c. shall be responsible for the disobedience of their children and their servants to the said order, and shall be bound to make a declaration before the police, of those who shall not have returned to their work after the public is certain of the present decree.——3. Every mob, crowd, &c. shall be dispersed by the military, who are authorised at the same time to fire on all meetings of the people who shall not separate after the publication of the present.——4. All those who shall be apprehended as forming a part of these mobs, or ring-leaders, if such, shall be tried by the laws contained in the 8th case of the criminal code, and even, as circumstances may require, may be tried by martial law.——(Signed)——SUMMARAW, President of the Police.

———

ST. DOMINGO.—CONSTITUTION OF HAYTI.

We, H. Christophie, Clerveux, Vernet, Gabart, Petion, Geffrard, Toussaint Brave, Raphel, Romain, Lalondrie, Capoix, Magny, Daut, Conge, Magloire Ambroise, Yoyou, Jean Louis Francois, Gerin, Moreau, Fervu, Bavelais, Martial Besse; as well in our own name as those of the people of Hayti, who have legally constituted us faithful organs and interpreters of their will; in presence of the supreme being, before whom all mankind are equal, and who has distributed so many species of creatures on the surface of the earth, for the purpose of manifesting his glory and his power by the diversity of his work: in the presence of all nature by whom we have been so unjustly and so long a time considered as outcast children: do declare, that the tenor of the present constitution is the free spontaneous and invariable expression of our hearts, and the general will of our constituents; and we submit it to the sanction of H. M. the Emperor, Jacques Dessalines, our deliverer, to receive its speedy and entire execution.

PRELIMINARY DECLARATION.—Art. 1. The people inhabiting the island, formerly called St. Domingo, hereby agree to form themselves into a free state, sovereign and independent of any other power in the universe, under the name of Empire of Hayti. 2. Slavery is for ever abolished. 3. The citizens of Hayti are brothers at home; equality in the eye of the law is incontestibly acknowledged, and there cannot exist any titles, advantages, or privileges, other than those necessarily resulting from the consideration and reward of services rendered to liberty and independence. 4. The law is the same to all whether it punishes or protects. 5. The law has no retro-active effect. 6. Property is sacred, its violation shall be severely prosecuted. 7. The quality of citizen of Hayti is lost by emigration and naturalization in foreign countries, and by condemnation to corporeal or disgraceful punishments. The first case carries with it the punishment of death, and confiscation of property. 8. The quality of citizens is suspended, in consequence of bankruptcies and failures. 9. No person is worthy of being a Haytian who is not a good father, a good son, a good husband, and especially a good soldier. 10. Fathers and mothers are not permitted to disinherit their children. 11. Every citizen must profess a mecanic art. 12. No white man, of whatsoever nation he may be, shall put his foot on this territory with the title of master or proprietor, neither shall he in future acquire any property therein. 13. The preceding article cannot in the smallest degree affect white women, who have been naturalised Haytians by government, nor does it extend to children already born, or that may be born of the said women. The Germans and Polanders, naturalized by government, are also comprised in the dispositions of the present article. 14. All acception of colour among the children of one and the same family, of whom the chief magistrate is the father, being necessary to cease, the Haytians shall henceforward be known only by the generic appellation of Blacks.

OF THE EMPIRE.——15. The Empire of Hayti is one and invisible. Its territory is distributed into six military divisions. 16. Each military division shall be commanded by a general of division. 17. These generals of division shall be independent of one another, and shall correspond directly with the Emperor, or with the general in chief ap-

pointed by his Majesty. 18. The following islands are internal parts of the empire, viz. Samana, La Tortue, La Gonaire, Les Cayemites, La Saune, L'Isle-a-Vache, and other adjacent islands.

OF THE GOVERNMENT.——19. The government of Hayti is entrusted to a first magistrate, who assumes the title of Emperor and Commander in Chief of the Army. 20. The people acknowledge for Emperor and Commander in Chief of the Army, Jacques Dessalines, the avenger and deliverer of his fellow-citizens. The title of Majesty is conferred upon him, as well as upon his august spouse the Empress. 21. The person of their Majesties are sacred and inviolable. 22. The state will appropriate a fixed annual allowance to her Majesty the Empress, which she will continue to enjoy even after the decease of the Emperor, as Princess Dowager. 23. The crown is elective, not hereditary. 24. There shall be assigned by the state an annual income to the children acknowledged by his Majesty the Emperor. 25. The male children acknowledged by the Emperor shall be obliged, in the same manner as other citizens, to pass successively from grade to grade, with this only difference, that their entrance into service shall begin at the fourth demi-brigade, from the period of their birth. 26. The Emperor designates, in the manner he may judge expedient, the person who is to be his successor either before or after his death. 27. A suitable provision shall be made by the state to that successor, from the moment of his accession to the throne. 28. The Emperor and his successors shall, in no case, and under no pretext whatsoever, have the right of attaching to their persons any particular or privileged body, whether as guards of honour, or under any other denomination. 29. Every successor deviating from the preceding article, or from the principles consecrated in the present constitution, shall be considered and declared in a state of warfare against the society. In such a case, the counsellors of state will assemble, in order to pronounce his removal, and to chuse one among themselves who shall be thought most worthy of replacing him; and if it should happen that the successor oppose the execution of this measure, authorised by law, the generals counsellors of state shall appeal to the people and the army, who will immediately give their whole strength and assistance to maintain liberty. 30. The Emperor makes, seals, and promulgates the laws, appoints and revokes at will the ministers, the general in chief of the army, the counsellors of state, the generals and other agents of the empire, the sea officers, the members of the local administrations, the commissaries of government near the tribunals, the judges, and other public functionaries. 31. The Emperor directs the receipts and expenditures of the state, surveys the mint, of which he alone orders the emission, and fixes the weight and the model. 32. To him alone is reserved the power of making peace or war, to maintain political intercourse, and to form treaties. 33. He provides for the interior safety and for the defence of the state, and distributes at pleasure the sea and land forces. 34. In case of conspiracies manifesting themselves against the safety of the state, against the constitution, or against his person, the Emperor shall cause the authors or accomplices to be arrested and tried before a special council. 35. His Majesty has alone the right to absolve a criminal, or to commute his punishment. 36. The Emperor shall never form any enterprise with the view of making conquests, nor disturb the peace and the interior administration of foreign colonies. 37. Every public act shall be made in these terms:—"The Emperor I. of Hayti, Commander in Chief of the Army, by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the state."

OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.——38. The generals of division and brigade are, of right, members of the council of state and they compose it.

OF THE MINISTERS.——39. There shall be in the empire two ministers and a secretary of state. The ministers of finances having the department of the interior, and the minister of war having the marine department. 40.—44. [Interior regulations respecting the ministry.]

OF THE TRIBUNALS.——45. No one can interfere with the right which every individual has of being judged amicably by arbitrators of his own chusing, whose decisions shall be acknowledged legal. 46. There shall be a justice of the peace in each commune. Any suit amounting to more than one hundred dollars, shall not come within his cognizance. And when the parties cannot conciliate themselves at his tribunal, they may appeal to the tribunals of their respective districts. 47. There shall be six tribunals in the cities hereafter designated, viz. at St. Marc, at the Cape, at Port-au-Prince, Aux-Cayes, Lanse-a-Veaux, and Port-de-Paix. The Emperor determines their organisation, their number, their competence, and the territory forming the district of each. These tribunals take cognizance of all affairs purely

civil. 48. Military crimes are submitted to special councils, and to particular forms of judgment. 49. Particular laws shall be made for the national transactions and respecting the civil officers of the state.

OF WORSHIP.——The law admits of no predominant religion. The freedom of worship is tolerated. The state does not provide for the maintenance of any religious institution, nor of any minister.

GENERAL DISPOSITIONS.——The crimes of high treason, the dilapidations of the ministers and generals, shall be judged by a special council, called and provided by the Emperor.——The house of every citizen is an inviolable asylum.——All property which formerly belonged to any white Frenchman, is incontestibly, and of right, confiscated to the use of the state.——Every Haytian, who, having purchased property from a white Frenchman, may have paid part of the purchase-money stipulated in the act of sale, shall be responsible to the domains of the state for the remainder of the sum due.——Marriage is an act purely civil, and authorised by the government.——The law authorises divorce in all cases which shall have been previously provided for and determined.——There shall be national festivals for celebrating independence, the birth-day of the Emperor and his august spouse, that of agriculture and of the constitution.——At the first firing of the alarm gun, the cities will disappear, and the nation rise. We, the undersigned, place under the safeguard of the magistrates, fathers and mothers of families, the citizens, and the army, the explicit and solemn covenant of the sacred rights of man and the duties of the citizen. We recommend it to our successors, and present it to the friends of liberty, to philanthropists of all countries, as a signal pledge of the divine bounty, who, in the course of his immortal decrees, has given us an opportunity of breaking our fetters, and of constituting ourselves a people, free, civilized, and independent. (Signed) H. Christophe, &c. (as before). Having given the present constitution, we, Jacques Dessalines, Emperor I. of Hayti, and commander and chief of the army, by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state, accept it wholly, and sanction it, that it may receive, with the least possible delay, its full and entire execution throughout the whole of our empire. And we swear to maintain it, and to cause it to be observed in its integrity to the last breath of our life. Done at the Imperial Palace of Dessalines, the 20th May, 1805, second year of the independence of Hayti, and of our reign the first. By the Emperor, Dessalines, Juste Chanlatte, Sec. Gen.

CAPTURE OF THE DIAMOND ROCK.

Official Report of Chef d'Escadron Boyer, Aid-de-Camp to the Captain-General, to Villaret Joyeuse, Captain-General of Martinique and its Dependencies. Dated June 14, 1805.

General—I embarked on the evening of the 9th, with 200 men of the 82d reg., which you put under my command, for the expedition against the Diamond Rock. The naval forces, under the command of Captain Casmao, consisted of the following ships: Le Pluton, 74, Capt. Casmao.—Le Berwick, 74, Capt. Camas.—Le Syrene (frigate), Capt. Chabert.—L'Argus (brig), Capt. Taillard; and La Fine (schooner), Capt. Meynard.—The troops were embarked on board the Pluton and Berwick. The current ran so strong against us during the night, that in the morning we found ourselves under the lee of St. Lucia. The whole of the 10th was spent in beating up again, so as to commence the attack the following morning: we anchored for the night off Point Borgness. On the morning of the 11th, the ships being all collected again, the troops were embarked in the boats, and were directed to make fast to the Argus, in order to be towed near the Rock. I divided them in two divisions; the first, which I commanded in person, was to attempt the landing near the Little Savanna, with Captains Pinede and Balossir; the second, composed of Spanish boats, and commanded by Capt. Don Rosando Porlier, with the troops under Capt. Cortes, Aide-de-Camp to Gen. d'Houdetot, and Lieuts. Blairon and Nocus, was to land at the Patch. On the same day, between 9 and 10 o'clock, we effected our landing much sooner, and with less difficulty, than we had expected, notwithstanding a most brisk and determined fire which the enemy (having abandoned the lower part of the Rock) kept upon us from the heights, and particularly from the middle battery, where they had perfect command of us, and the violent manner in which the sea is constantly agitated near the Rock. We took a man prisoner, whom we found concealing himself. The fortifications of the Rock, and the positions of the enemy, were exactly as I had conceived them to be from the opposite shore. The scaling of it appeared to me there, to be perfectly easy, and I had my dispositions accordingly; but the

14th, he descended with his garrison, agreeably to the Articles agreed upon, and filed off in front of our troops, which I had drawn up at the Queen's Battery, and laid down their and insurmountable difficulties on all sides. We naturally enough concluded, that from the facility with which the enemy had suffered us to occupy the bottom of the rock, they had reserved all their force, to destroy us more securely from the height of their inaccessible retreat. Our troops suffered severely from a most galling volley of musquetry, large fragments of the rock, cannon balls, and casks filled with stones, which they poured upon us. They were entrenched in a number of cavities, which nature had formed at different heights, and to which it was impossible to attain, but by ladders of 30 or 40 feet in length. From the tremendous fire of the enemy, the boats had been obliged to retreat, without having landed any of the articles with which I had furnished myself for the attack; the ships also had drifted into the offing, and we remained without support or provisions; I saw we had no resource, but to retreat into two cavities in the rock (in one of which the enemy had erected two large forges), where we should at least be under cover; I had all our wounded carried into them, and placed a detachment over each. I committed the whole of the east side to the charge of Capt. Cortes, giving him a sufficient number of men to support him, and at the same time desired him to reconnoitre the most advantageous point to commence the escalade. Capt. Pinade was placed in the situation on the right, with like orders, and the like means.—Capt. Balossier had charge of the western side and of the landing place. I successively visited all our detachments, and found the same ardour for the attack amongst them all, but found also the most insurmountable obstacles and innumerable dangers. In order to prevent as much as possible the effects of the enemy's destructive fire, I made all the out-posts fall back into the two caverns, to wait for the approach of night, when we might be able to form anew. Notwithstanding this, our situation was truly dreadful; we were exhausted with fatigue, and the want of nourishment was the more severely felt by the troops, who had been prevented by the sea-sickness from taking any for the two preceding days, that they were on board the ships. The boats had not had time to land any provisions, nor could we expect they would run the risk of bringing us any. The enemy too had now, by the quantity of shot and stones which they continued to direct at us, cut off the communication between the two caverns, notwithstanding their vicinity to each other; in short, to add to the horrors of this calamitous scene, we had nothing to offer our wounded, of whom some were in a most deplorable state, but barren consolations.—About 5 in the evening, a party of the soldiers came to inform me, that Lieut. Latour, being led away by his zeal and courage, had ascended, by means of ropes, to a considerable height on the Rock, when he was discovered by the enemy, and, with 25 men, made prisoner. A few minutes afterwards, I learned, that he had been fortunate enough to disengage himself from them, with the loss of two men killed, and two wounded. We found a few casks of water, that the enemy had abandoned, with which, though perfectly putrid, we were obliged to relieve our wounded, and endeavour to assuage the thirst that devoured us. A canoe reached the shore, and delivered me your letter; the fire of the enemy only allowed me time to write a few hasty lines, in answer, and the canoe pushed off; but I had the mortification presently to see two of her crew killed, one of whom was the man to whom I had given my note. At night, although the enemy did not at all relax in their vigorous defence, I endeavoured to reconnoitre the Rock on all sides; I sent Capt. Cortes to take possession of one of the buildings, called the Great House, and established two intermediate posts between him and me; I then caused the guns on the lower battery, which the enemy had evacuated, to be spiked; and passed the remainder of the night in visiting our detachments. Towards midnight, a boat approached without noise, and succeeded in landing Lieuts. Dutil and Girandon, with 60 grenadiers of the 82d, and likewise some provisions, which had been sent by Captain Meynard, of the Fine. I embraced this opportunity of sending away our wounded. A second boat also attempted to land, but was swept away by the current.—On the 12th, at day-break, I relieved all our outposts with the grenadiers newly arrived. We discovered a magazine, containing a quantity of rum, Madeira wine and biscuit, but we were still in great want of water; and, above all, of cartridges and flints. In the evening, I determined, in concert with the other officers, to summon the garrison to surrender the following morning. In the course of the night we received provisions, ammunition, and the rest of the grenadiers of the 82d

moment we had landed, this illusion ceased; —I saw nothing but immense precipices, perpendicular rocks, a threatening enemy, whom it was impossible to reach. 13th, a boat laden with provisions and ammunition was seen steering for the landing place, and, though exposed to the dreadful fire of the enemy, seemed determined to reach it: it was commanded by Mr. Berenger, a volunteer, who, having seen our distressing situation on the evening of the 11th, had vowed to brave every danger to bring us assistance. He had been ordered not to attempt the landing but at night; but the current having delayed him till day-break, he was resolved to comply with his engagement, or perish in the attempt. This brave young man, with one of his sailors, was unfortunately killed; two others were dreadfully wounded, in attempting to save themselves by swimming, and were picked up under the Rock, with six of the boat's crew. Two other supplies were also seen endeavouring to approach, but the enemy's cannon obliged them to return.—— On examining the Rock immediately over our cavern, it occurred to me that it could be scaled, and being joined in this opinion by the Commandant Richaud, I, with his advice, sent to the general commanding the troops, for a quantity of scaling ladders, boat-hooks, &c. and desired Capt. Brunet and Lieut. Dutil to prepare themselves, with 50 grenadiers, for the attempt, which I intended to make at one o'clock in the morning, by which time I expected the ladders would arrive. My intention to summons the garrison was, of course dropped. My plan being formed, I gave a *carte blanche* to all our men, recommending them to search every where for an outlet, and to harass the enemy as much as possible; forbidding them at the same time to fire on that part of the Rock above our cavern, in order that the English might have no idea of an attack from that side; and desired them to let me know whatever new they should discover or do. About 9 in the morning, a number of them returned to inform me, that by various means they had succeeded in climbing pretty high up different parts of the Rock, and would have been able to maintain their dispositions, had they had more men and ammunition. I immediately sent them back with a supply of both; and, about an hour after, Capt. Cortes came himself to inform me, that one of his detachment had got very high up the Rock, and demanded my orders. I supplied him with men and ammunition, and desired him to hasten and direct that part of the attack. Some of his men had actually gained an height, which commanded the entrance to the Great House, and had fastened to the Rock some ropes which they found; but, as the Rock was upwards of 40 feet high, they did not descend within reach. Capt Cortes caused part of the stair-case of the Great House to be brought away, which they made fast to the Rock, and were thus enabled to reach the ropes; but no one seemed inclined to ascend, till the gallant Lieut. Girandon, who had tended there, and climbed up to the summit of the height, with the rapidity of an arrow, and was immediately followed by a crowd of grenadiers, marines, and soldiers. One of the stones hurled at him by the enemy, wounded him in the arm, another struck him on the head, so as to knock off his hat, but nothing could stop him. To assist this attack, I caused fifty men to conceal themselves among the rocks and buildings, facing the little Savanna, in order to cut off the communication of the enemy, and to prevent their giving any support to their right flank, which our troops had attacked. In the mean time, Capt. Brunet and Lieut. Dutil had succeeded in climbing up at the head of their grenadiers; and Capt. Cortes and Lieut. Giranson overcame every thing they found in their way. In one place, they discovered a quantity of wearing apparel; in another, a month's provisions; and in a third, three large casks of water, which were constantly filled by filtration from the rock. It was now all over with the Diamond, and we should probably have had possession of it in a few hours, when La Fine arrived with a flag of truce. Capt. Meynard informed that the garrison had thrown out the signal for captitulation, which our situation on the Rock prevented us from perceiving. The firing was immediately stopped, and two Englishmen came down with a white flag, and announced thier intention of capitulating. One of them delivered me a letter from the Commander, wherein he offers to surrender, to prevent any further effusion of blood. Articles of capitulation were immediately drawn up and agreed upon, subject to your ratification. I then dispatched Capt. Brunet to receive possession of all the batteries and magazines on the top of the Rock, and to hoist the French flag, and desired him to offer to Capt. Maurice and his garrison whatever refreshments we had in our power. At his request, he was permitted to stay on the Rock till the following morning. At sun-rise on the

under the command of Capt. Brunet; the Commandant Richaud also arrived, and was as much surprised as I had been, to find the Diamond so very different from what it had appeared from the main land.——On the morning of the arms and their colours, and came with the rest of his officers to deliver me their swords. ——To treat a vanquished enemy with respect, is, I believe, general, only following your intentions, as well as the rules of French generosity; I therefore returned Capt. Maurice and his officers their swords, and renewed my offers to serve them. The number of effective men amounted to 107, one half of which were sent on board the Pluton, and the other on board the Berwick. I inspected the whole of the Rock, and had the two 13-pounders at the top of it thrown into the sea, as well as the platform, and all the powder and shot, I also cut down one of the flag-staffs, leaving only that on which the French colours were flying.——To judge from the quantity of powder, shot, water, and provisions of all kinds, which we found in the different cavities near the summit of the Rock, it would be supposed that the enemy could have held out much longer. The prodigious buildings which they had constructed, evidently proves that they considered themselves as well established here. I cannot even yet conceive how they should be so soon dislodged; it required, no doubt, Frenchmen to do it, and Frenchmen as brave as those you put under my command. From a hasty calculation, I am afraid we have to regret the loss of 50 men, both killed and wounded, which is certainly great, when we reflect that it is so many brave men who have fallen; but, from the difficulty of the enterprise, we might have calculated upon a much greater one. I cannot say too much in praise of the troops employed on this expedition.—Officers, soldiers, and sailors, manifested their usual bravery, coolness, and activity. The 82d regimeut, though but just raised under your auspices, has consecrated its new number in the most brilliant manner. It does not belong to me to speak of the naval forces—the behaviour of the whole of the ships employed under Capt. Casmao, has been generally admired—I owe a great deal both to him and Capt. Camos, of the Berwick; their co-operation with the land forces, in supplying us with provisions, was of essential service, and their guns greatly assisted in seconding our efforts. Lieutenant Dodignon, of the Bucentaure, who commanded the boats, behaved with great merit and bravery: he had the misfortune to be shot through the knee with a musket ball, but is in a fair way of recovery. I should be happy were it in my power to name here all the brave men who contributed to our success; at their head I must place Capt. Cortes, who particularly distinguished himself; as did also, Captains Brunet, Pinede, and Balossierrie; Lieutenants Dutil, Blairon, Nocus, Forstal, Lourier, Daubersmille, and Latour; and Sub-Lieutenant Girandon, who was the first that dared to ascend the lofty Rock, from whence the enemy seemed to defy us.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

VOLUNTEERS.——*Circular Letter from Lord Harrington, dated August 8,* 1805.

Sir,——In consequence of intelligence received by Government of the embarkation of large bodies of troops in Holland, of a fleet of men of war being ready to sail from thence, and of the increased preparations of the French at Boulogne, and its neighbourhood, I have received orders from his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to direct the General Officers and Inspecting Field Officers attached to the Volunteer Corps, to give notice to those corps of the possibility of their being speedily called upon for service; and also to suspend all furloughs for working during the harvest, till further orders.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c. ——HARRINGTON,——General commanding the London District.

NAVAL VICTORY.——*Copy of a Letter from Sir R. Calder, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Blue, to the Hon. W. Cornwallis, Admiral of the White, &c. dated on Board His Majesty's Ship the Prince of Wales, the 25th of July,* 1805.

Sir,——I am induced to send, by the Windsor Castle, a triplicate of my dispatch of the 23d instant, owing to a very great omission of my secretary, who, from indisposition, and an interlineation in my first letter, neglected to insert the name of Rear-Admiral Charles Stirling in my public thanks; I am therefore to request you will be pleased to cause the mistake to be corrected as early as possible.——I have the honour to be, &c.——HON. CALDER.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by P. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.